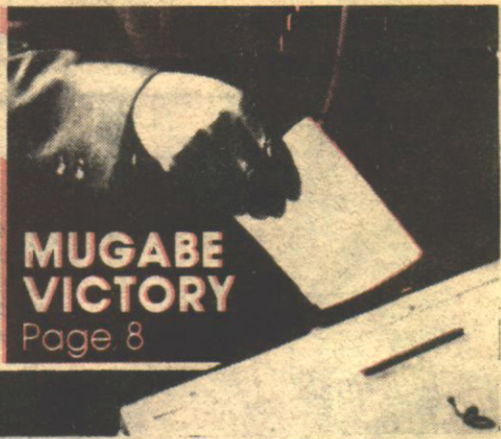


IN THESE TIMES



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MARCH 12-MARCH 25, 1980

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THE INSIDE STORY



Fitzsimmons, secretary-treasurer of International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Does labor need the Teamsters?

By Steve Early

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Official negotiating committees are discussing it. Everyone from AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland to William Winpisinger of the Machinists and the reform-minded Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) are for it. But, as the AFL-CIO moves closer to a reconciliation with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), troubling questions remain: What makes the IBT fit to be a part of the AFL-CIO? Are the Teamsters any less tainted today than they were in 1957 when the federation expelled them for being "dominated by corrupt influences?"

The answer, unfortunately, is that they are not. Very little has changed in the Teamsters in the last 23 years; it remains the most corrupt, gangster-ridden union in the country. The conduct of numerous Teamster officials still violates the spirit and letter of the AFL-CIO's own Ethical Practices Codes—and any readmission of the union under these circumstances would render that long-neglected document completely meaningless.

Many progressive trade unionists now favor reaffiliation of the Teamsters—along with the Mine Workers and Auto Workers—to promote labor unity in the face of growing business attacks. Yet letting the IBT back into the fold would be a devastating blow to the cause of honest, democratic unionism. At a time when unions are spending millions of dollars to organize the unorganized and improve their public image through advertising, it would also lend credence to claims by anti-union employers that crooks and corruption exist throughout the labor movement.

The AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee and its codes of conduct for union officers were originally established in the 1950s to rid the federation of affiliates and officials who give all of labor a bad name, thus making organizing more difficult. Spurred on by the revelations of the McClellan Committee and rank-and-file complaints, the labor movement conducted its own investigation of the Teamster, the International Longshoreman's Association (ILA) and the Bakery and Laundry Workers Unions. Each was accused of harboring scores of racketeers and mobsters masquerading as trade unionists.

When the offending unions failed to purge these criminal elements, the unions themselves were expelled.

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In short, labor made a brief but aggressive effort to clean up its own house. True, there was soon much backsliding in the AFL-CIO's fight against corruption and, after readmission of the ILA in 1959, the Ethical Practices Committee was rarely heard from again. But at least the federation was on record against the kind of illicit practices that have continued to flourish in the IBT.

These practices include taking kickbacks from employers, extorting money from them for "labor peace," stealing membership dues money, milking union benefit funds, using violence against oppositionists, and engaging in criminal activities unrelated to union business (such as bank fraud, murder, gambling, and loan-sharking). During one recent 24-month period in 1977-79, over 50 officials and employees of the Teamsters were indicted or convicted of these crimes. Among them were four past or present international organizers, an ex-international vice-president, several Teamster lawyers, two joint council presidents, and numerous presidents of prominent locals.

During the same period, four Teamster business agents and an accountant for locals in New York, New Jersey, Cleveland, and Kansas City were killed in widely publicized gangland slayings. Prior to their demise, the leading mob murder victim in the union had been its former international president, James Hoffa—eliminated in 1975 as he prepared to challenge incumbent president Frank Fitzsimmons at the union's national convention the following year. Fitzsimmons' own son, Richard, is the latest Teamster felon; he was fined and sentenced to jail Feb. 15 for taking employer kickbacks while an official of his father's old local in Detroit.

This string of violent deaths, indictments, trials, and convictions is only part of the continuing story of Teamster corruption. There are active federal criminal investigations involving Teamster locals from one end of the country to the other. Teamster benefit funds are embroiled in a half dozen government lawsuits alleging serious violations of the 1974 pension reform law. The U.S. Department of Labor is still trying to collect millions of dollars squandered by Fitzsimmons and other top officials when they served as trustees of the notorious Teamsters Central States Pension Fund.

Fitzsimmons' likely successor as president of the union, Kansas City Teamster chief Roy Williams, was also a Central States trustee and is a key figure in a major federal investigation of organized crime in Kansas City, Chicago, and Las Vegas. That investigation, according to a Feb. 24 *New York Times* report, involves "the murder of union officials and others, racketeering, skimming of Las Vegas casino revenues, union pension fund fraud and kickbacks, bribery of public officials, and the misapplication of union funds."

The only official Teamster response to charges of corruption and organized crime connections is silence. Not a single crooked local has been put under trusteeship, no gangster types have been removed from office, and no internal investigations are ever made by the union itself. Occasionally, after a conviction, Teamster spokesmen will admit that there are a "few rotten apples in every barrel," but they argue that a big union like the IBT, with a tradition of local autonomy, can't be held responsible for the actions of each of its officials. In fact, Teamster history proves the union to be a barrel that produces bad apples—much to the shame and embarrassment of many rank-and-file members and honest local union officers.

Why is AFL-CIO president Kirkland so eager to embrace the Teamster mess and what does he propose to do about the union's corruption problem? Kirkland wants the Teamsters back because of their money—the enormous per-capita payments that would be made to

the AFL-CIO by the IBT on behalf of its 1.8 million members. He plans to leave corruption probes to the government, saying he has "the greatest respect for the constabulary of this country." Like the IBT officials he is welcoming back into the federation, he apparently believes the labor movement has neither the ability nor the responsibility to police its own member organizations.

But in at least one union corruption case Kirkland was very active. Last October, when he was still AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, he travelled all the way to Brooklyn to tell a federal jury that ILA vice-president and general organizer Anthony Scotto was a "reputable union official" whose honesty and integrity were "above reproach." Several days after Kirkland testified at his trial, Scotto was convicted of taking \$300,000 in payoffs from waterfront employers. The ILA boss now faces five years in jail for this "pattern of racketeering" and is only one of a dozen longshore officials in New York, New Jersey, and Florida recently charged with similar crimes. Is Kirkland a better judge of character in the Teamsters? Speaking as the new AFL-CIO president, he told reporters Feb. 9 that the IBT was no longer under "corrupt domination" and was now a "bona fide trade union that has been working in the best interest of its members."

There are many people on the left in the labor movement who don't believe this statement but who support Teamster reaffiliation anyway—in the interests of labor unity. They hope that Teamster raids on other unions will be reduced and labor's overall political clout increased if the IBT returns to the AFL-CIO.

They forget that jurisdictional conflicts and harmful competition in organizing are rife among existing AFL-CIO affiliates; the Teamsters are likely to behave no better. In fact, if past Teamster behavior outside the federation is any guide, some IBT locals will behave even worse. As Steve Brill reports in his book, *The Teamsters*, honest officials in Teamster affiliates like New York Local 804 complain that corrupt locals in the same or neighboring joint councils scab on them during strikes, undercut prevailing wage rates by signing sweetheart contracts, and steal members away by invading their jurisdiction to organize employers who don't want to deal with a clean local. So much for labor unity and solidarity—even within the IBT itself.

Teamster dissident leaders in the recently merged Professional Drivers Council (PROD) and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) favor reaffiliation as a way of reducing the union's—and their own—isolation from the rest of the labor movement. But I think it's a mistake for them to jump on the reaffiliation bandwagon. If what Teamster reformers have been saying about their union all these years is true, it has no business back in the AFL-CIO. Reaffiliation would give Fitzsimmons and his successors the cloak of respectability they need to maintain their hold on the IBT for years to come. The best hope for the reform movement—and all of organized labor—lies in mobilizing opposition to Teamster reaffiliation among those unions that believe the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Codes still bar crooks from the federation's door.

Steve Early is a lawyer and labor journalist formerly on the staff of the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), a Teamster reform group that is now part of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU).

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Anderson's independents

By John Judis

BOSTON, MASS.

AFTER HIS VICTORY IN IOWA last January, the Milton, Mass.-born George Bush was supposed to win the March 4 Massachusetts primary easily. Then after Ronald Reagan's destruction of Bush in the New Hampshire primary, Reagan was expected to ride his momentum through Massachusetts.

Nine hours after the polls closed, Bush was finally declared the winner in Massachusetts—by a scant 1,274 votes over Illinois congressman John Anderson. Reagan came in third, 8,000 votes behind Anderson.

Anderson's second-place finish in Massachusetts, coupled with his near-win in the Vermont caucuses, establishes him as a genuine, if implausible, contender for the Republican nomination.

Both Anderson and Bush had targeted Massachusetts as a particularly welcome state for their candidacies. The Massachusetts Republican Party has traditionally been the preserve of liberal, *noblesse oblige*-minded fourteenth generation Yankees. Last fall, Bush lined up the support of Elliot Richardson, William Saltonstall, former gubernatorial candidate Francis Hatch, and Henry Cabot Lodge. Spurred on by favorable notices in the *New York Times* and the *Boston Globe*, Anderson enlisted former Senate candidate Josiah Spaulding, George Cabot Lodge, and banker Robert Gardner.

But Anderson was aiming beyond Massachusetts's North Shore Brahmin vote.

NO ONE EXCEPT DOOMSAYERS expected Senator Edward Kennedy to lose Massachusetts, the state he has represented for 17 years, but many Kennedy and Carter supporters, as well as pollsters and pundits, expected that he would get less than the approximately 60 percent he would need for a credible win over Jimmy Carter.

There seemed to be good reasons to downplay Kennedy's chances in his own state:

•The Irish working-class following was expected to desert him because of his support for busing and abortion. Anti-busing demonstrators had dogged him when he visited the state and South Boston.

•Blacks were thought to be angry at him because he supported Paul Douglas' successful Senate challenge against Ed Brooke. Kennedy had remained neutral in Brooke's previous races.

•John Anderson's candidacy was expected to drain Kennedy support. Prior to the election, some 10,000 Democrats—thought to be largely Kennedy supporters—had re-registered as independents, presumably to vote for Anderson.

•Kennedy's moral character—and Chappaquiddick in particular—was thought to be an important issue. Carter's media ads—which proclaimed the president to be a "quiet, unassuming family man"—subtly exploited doubts about Kennedy. And a *Boston Globe* poll of Massachusetts Democrats showed 48 percent agreeing that Kennedy's "moral character and family life are not what we look for in a president."

•The Iran-Afghanistan crisis, it was thought, continued to inspire support for President Carter and an unwillingness to entertain criticisms of the administration's economic policies.

But Kennedy confounded both the experts and his own supporters. He got an impressive 65 percent of the vote to Carter's 29 percent. This was only slightly less than the 71 percent Kennedy got in

Massachusetts' election laws (and Vermont's) allow independents to vote in either primary. Anderson wanted to attract the one-third of the Massachusetts electorate that is neither Republican nor Democrat. Particularly important within this group were Massachusetts' many college students.

As he did in New Hampshire, Reagan took aim at the blue collar and lower income white collar conservative—at "the Schlitz, not the sherry drinker," as one Reagan aide put it. Just as Anderson encouraged suburban Democrats to re-register as independents on his behalf, Ronald Reagan encouraged the anti-busing, anti-abortion, anti-gun control forces among working-class Irish to reregister

on his behalf.

Reagan could point to the potential for such a conservative vote in George Wallace's second-place finish in the 1976 Democratic primary. He could also cite right-winger Avi Nelson's 45 percent finish against Ed Brooke in the 1978 Republican Senate primary.

In the final results, Reagan did get some of the Wallace vote—for instance, winning a clear majority in South Boston. But he divided much of the vote that went to Avi Nelson with sometimes conservative George Bush. In Dartmouth, for instance, Reagan got 45.5 percent, Bush 43 percent, and Anderson 3 percent. Overall, Reagan did not do as well as he did in 1976, getting only 29 percent

of the vote, compared to 32.9 percent then.

Bush and Anderson largely divided the Yankee North Shore between them. But Anderson cleaned up in college towns, Jewish suburbs, and middle-class sections of Boston. In Cambridge and Amherst, both with large college populations, he got 65 percent of the vote. In Boston's Back Bay, Allston and Brighton, he held at least a two-to-one advantage over Bush.

In accordance with his "new coalition" strategy, an estimated 61 percent of Anderson voters were registered independent rather than Republican.

Anderson difference.

As a member of Congress, Anderson combined economic conservatism, social liberalism, and diplomatic realism. He advocated balanced budgets as the means to curb inflation; he opposed labor law reform and aid to Chrysler; he opposed the B-1 bomber and neutron bomb and backed SALT II; he championed the Equal Rights Amendment, federal funding of welfare abortions, busing, and gun control. (*Inside Story*, Feb. 13.) Much of his appeal to Republican moderates rests on this combination, especially the fiscal conservatism and social liberalism.

But in taking the step from moderate congressman to presidential candidate, Anderson defied the usual injunctions to move right and cultivate ambiguity. During the New Hampshire primary, Anderson defended gun control—to a chorus of boos—before a rally called by the New Hampshire Gun Owners of America. In Massachusetts, he politely but

Continued on page 18.



Gut issues spur Kennedy comeback

the 1976 Senate primary when he ran against four unknown candidates rather than an incumbent president.

A look at the election returns shows that Kennedy overcame each of his expected obstacles:

•While he narrowly lost South Boston and Dorchester, the heart of the anti-busing movement, he overwhelmingly carried other Irish and Italian working class neighborhoods and cities. In Irish Fall River and New Bedford, which Carter had expected to carry, Kennedy got 80 percent of the vote. He got 69 percent in Italian East Boston. (In the wake of the administration's latest Mideast snafu, Kennedy also carried Jewish Brookline by 72 percent.)

•Kennedy narrowly defeated Carter in

black neighborhoods. In Roxbury, for instance, he won 50 percent of the vote to 48 percent for Carter. His black support was typified by social worker Jean Tates. "I'm a sole breadwinner with older children at home," she said. "My paycheck's been shrinking each month. Carter hasn't done anything about oil or inflation. I don't know what Kennedy would do, but it's time for a change."

•Some independent voters that deserted the Democratic primary to vote for Anderson or Ronald Reagan turned out to have been potential Carter rather than Kennedy supporters. "I considered voting for Carter because I hate Kennedy," Gloucester Democrat Harold Vickery explained. "But I think I am going to write-in John Anderson."

•Kennedy's moral character did not have as decisive an effect in Massachusetts as it had in other states. An ABC poll showed that of the 27 percent of Democratic voters who made honesty their main voting criterion, Kennedy received 43 percent of their vote and Carter 50 percent. Only 13 percent mentioned stability in a crisis as an important criterion.

Carter's Rose Garden strategy—which depended upon the public's obsession with the hostages—backfired. The ABC poll found that the main issue that concerned Democratic voters was how the candidates would deal "with the problems of the poor and elderly." The second most widely mentioned issue was inflation. Kennedy got 84 and 87 percent of the vote, respectively, from voters who were most concerned about these issues.

Kennedy's victory speech, which he delivered with a somber eloquence usually lacking from his campaign speeches, reiterated Kennedy's determination to make economics the issue. "For the period of the past four months," Kennedy began, "we have tried to carry this campaign over the length and breadth of this nation, and we have faced adversity and disappointment. But none of the adversities and disappointments that we have faced have been nearly as serious as the true problems that millions of American people—elderly people, young people, working people, the women in our society, the minorities in our society—have faced because of economic neglect."

"If our candidacy means anything—and it means something after this evening's result—it means that the American people understand that the No. 1 issue which is before this nation is the restoration of our economy, and that the American people will not tolerate an inflation rate of 20 percent and an interest rate of 17 percent. The only way, the only fair way, the only equitable way of dealing with the central issue which is before this nation at this time is to put controls on prices, on profits, on rents, on interest rates, right across the board."

IN SHORT

D.C. draft march set

Thousands of America's youth—this time both men and women—are preparing to qualify themselves for conscientious objector status in the event of a new military draft. And the numbers are reported to "appear to surpass the thousand who, legally or illegally, opted out of the Vietnam war."

That's the evaluation of the *Christian Science Monitor*, which says various counseling groups, including the American Friends Service Committee and the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, have mailed out nearly 100,000 cards and questionnaires on becoming a CO and are receiving hundreds of returns per day.

Meanwhile in Washington, the National Mobilization Against the Draft, a coalition of peace and progressive groups, is planning a March 22 rally against draft registration, billed as "the first shot of the post-Vietnam antiwar movement."

For details on the demonstration, contact Mobilization Against the Draft, 1220 G St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003, (202) 667-6000.

Union wins at Burger King

A Burger King inside a Detroit bus station may be the nation's first fast food joint to be staffed by union burger workers.

Employees of the Burger King, organized by the United Labor Unions' Detroit Fastfood Workers, voted 25-23 last month for union representation. The election results are being challenged by both sides over unfair labor practice charges and the status of five contested ballots.

The election is only the first test of an aggressive organizing campaign being waged in Detroit by the United Labor Unions. The National Labor Relations Board has set May 2 as the date for a union election at three area McDonald fast food outlets—all owned by the same



Less machinery, more jobs

Citing damage to soil, loss of jobs and pollution, Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland has told top agribusiness leaders his department will no longer fund capital intensive farm machinery research.

The Agriculture Department gives tax money to colleges and other researchers to help develop bigger, faster harvesting and planting machines and tougher-skinned, machine resistant crops. But in a major policy reversal, Bergland says,

"I do not think the use of federal funds for labor-saving devices is a proper use of federal money. The economic incentives of the marketplace should be left to private industry."

Agriculture experts say besides the extra fuel needed to run the machinery—such as a planned lettuce harvester that shoots gamma rays into lettuce heads to determine ripeness—increased production quickly depletes farm soil and results in reduced nutrients in foods.

On the job front, California Rural Legal Assistance activist Al Meyerhoff says only seven years were needed for tomato harvesting machines to reduce tomato picking jobs from more than 50,000 in 1964 to fewer than 18,000 in 1970.

Bergland says if you think more tomatoes—agribusiness research has had to grow tougher skins on them to resist nicks from machine "hands"—are better than less tomatoes, think again.

"A small number of individuals, corporations and narrow interest groups" aren't worth the greater losses inflicted on the rest of society, the secretary said.

Meyerhoff, whose group last year sued the University of California to challenge the use of tax money at the expense of farmworkers and small, family farmers who can't afford the equipment, called Bergland's move "a breath of fresh air." But he said the Agriculture Department should also end financing of pesticide and hybrid research aimed solely at mechanization rather than improved food quality.



Burger King was targeted by the union because it is the only franchise under the control of the Greyhound corporation.

The union says organizing efforts are underway at about six other fast food operations.

—Ron Williams

OCAW strike continues

Eight weeks into the longest ever nationwide strike by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic workers union (OCAW), refinery production is down slightly, accidents are up, and no settlement is in sight.

Although supervisors working long shifts have kept the struck refineries open, the American Petroleum Institute

estimated the walkout had reduced the domestic production about 5.6 percent.

The cutback at the struck refineries themselves is probably greater because only about 60 percent of the nation's production comes from plants organized by OCAW.

When picket lines were set up Jan. 8, workers predicted that running the refineries with managerial level staff would lead to even more disastrous fires, explosions and other accidents. That assessment has proved accurate. According to OCAW spokesperson Jerry Archuleta, an employee died of burns at a Union Oil refinery in Nederland, Texas, last month and, on Feb. 12 and 13, two employees died at the Texas City, Texas, Amoco refinery.

About 3000 of the 55,000 striking workers have returned to their jobs since the strike began. Settlements were reached in these instances with 18 independent refiners and two pipeline companies. Archuleta said the independents agreed to union demands that companies contribute \$125 per month to health insurance plans and \$20 per month for dental plans.

The level of health contributions has been the primary barrier in strike negotiations with the major companies. Initially, OCAW president Robert Gross said the union would accept no less than full company payments of insurance plans, but he subsequently retreated somewhat. Now the union says it will accept company contributions of \$125 per month if the refiners also will pick up the tab for future increases in insurance premiums.

On Feb. 27, the union rejected an offer by seven major companies that would have raised current health insurance contributions from \$84 per month to \$100, set up a dental plan and boost its wages 10 percent. The current two-year contract provides for a 5 percent wage increase, something the union sees as ludicrous in the face of 13 percent inflation.

OCAW was backed by a dozen unions March 1 during a one-day work stoppage that paralyzed the Los Angeles-Long Beach harbor—the biggest port on the West Coast and a significant crude oil tanker depot. The show of strength, which included a demonstration by 3000 people and support from Longshoremen and Teamsters, temporarily ended waterborne shipments of crude oil in the refinery rich region.

—Timothy Lange

Shipyard cited for OSHA violations



The Labor Department has charged Tenneco, Inc.'s Newport News (Va.) Shipbuilding operation with 617 violations of federal job safety and health standards.

Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) officials say the case—including a proposed \$786,190 fine—is the largest individual case OSHA has brought against a firm.

The allegations against the shipyards and drydocks include exposing workers to impermissible levels of lead, asbestos, chromates, silica, cadmium and other toxins. OSHA says the Tenneco subsidiary also failed to tell workers how dangerous the materials they were handling were and didn't refer workers to doctors after preliminary medical tests turned up abnormalities. OSHA says the company also allowed at least 551 safety hazards, including unguarded machinery and scaffolding, exposed electrical parts and dangerous storage of flammable liquids.

OSHA began an inspection of the shipyards Sept. 5 following worker complaints. The inspection involved 100 inspectors and more than 60 working days—but only after OSHA reached an agreement with Newport News officials who had been charged with contempt for refusing to honor a U.S. magistrate's search warrant.

By Ron Walters

RICHMOND, VA.

IN THE NATION

POLITICS

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE on the Black Agenda held here from Feb. 28 to March 1 attracted 1,200 delegates from all over the nation. It was a leadership conference, not a mass conference, whose delegates were chosen from some 100 black organizations and reflected an eastern-corridor influence.

Asked to compare the Richmond meeting with the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., in 1972, some conference leaders responded that delegates to the Gary convention had "represented no one but themselves." In fact, the Gary delegates were chosen to represent states and were required to reflect various socio-economic and organizational backgrounds.

The difference between Gary and Richmond is analogous to that between the more open and egalitarian McGovern Democratic convention of 1972 and the Carter convention of 1976.

The Richmond event produced a high level of unity among the various party and candidate factions on the main business of the conference—the 19 separate policy workshops. These were concerned with such problems as the census, income maintenance, youth, voter mobilization, education, political parties, business and economic development, international affairs, criminal justice, civil rights, and employment.

Generally speaking, the level of discussion on these subjects demonstrated a growth of policy expertise in the black community all along the spectrum. And the sessions were well attended.

But the resulting policy resolutions were only moderately progressive. For example, the session on "economic parity" focused on income inequality as the main problem and suggested that it could not be addressed by continuing transfer of taxes but required greater attention to equalizing the income-producing sector—that is, private enterprise. His solution stopped short of formulations to nationalize key industries in the corporate sec-



Benjamin Hooks, Jesse Jackson and Richard Hatcher were among the conference speakers who criticized Carter's record.

The Black agenda slights strategy

tor or to establish a national goal of 100 percent parity of black incomes with white incomes. The initial policy paper declared that the immediate goal should be 80 percent of parity in income.

Likewise, the panelists in the "political parties" workshop accepted the major parties as the framework for black political participation. Though some members of the audience challenged that assumption and one assemblyman from the state of New York read a carefully

drawn resolution that called for a "black political party," such sentiments were in the minority.

One of the foreign affairs workshops called for a settlement of the Middle East problem, "including a resolution of the Palestinian homeland issue," but the agenda item did not specify the kind of resolution called for. No doubt delegates were aware of the extent to which the media would seize on such specifics, as they had on the 1972 resolution on Israel

at the Gary convention.

One of the major curiosities of the meeting was that even though all the keynote speakers—among the Vernon Jordan, Dick Gregory, Benjamin Hook, and Jesse Jackson—expressed strong dissatisfaction with the performance of the Carter administration on black concerns of the past three years, the politics of the convention did not reflect this. The group soundly booed mayor Coleman Young of Detroit when he challenged them to support Jimmy Carter for re-election in 1980. The angry Young retorted, "After you boo, who are you going with? I'm going with Jimmy Carter; you can make up your own damn minds."

It is questionable whether the Richmond gathering could be considered a political convention since the delegates did not discuss the essential political strategies that would guide the approach of blacks as a group to the 1980 election—except as they were concerned with increasing voting, registration, and delegate representation. Some such discussions were held in small groups—and the major presidential candidates sponsored hospitality suites. But the key question—what would be done with the agenda?—was put last on the program, when most of the delegates were leaving.

The conference did not come to grips with the declining status of the black vote despite its potential at the polls. This was highlighted by the fact that all Democratic and Republican presidential candidates declined invitations to appear at the scheduled candidates' forum, which had to be cancelled. The candidates' absence was widely construed by the delegates as an insult to black people nationally, and there was a strong feeling that the conference leadership should have responded in some appropriately dramatic manner.

This slighting of the black vote would be important in any event, but it is greatly exacerbated by the already prevalent feeling that no political action by black leaders will ensure accountability from politicians, black or white. In many ways, this was the real problem of the Richmond conference.

Ron Walters is a professor of political science at Howard University.

UNIONS

The Mayor stonewalls Chicago firefighters

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

THE BITTER FIREFIGHTER strike that started here Feb. 14 took an even harsher turn late in its second week as Mayor Jane Byrne stepped up her efforts to break the union. She refused to negotiate or respond to new union initiatives and the plea of a federal mediator, threatened mass discipline and firings, announced plans for a permanent reorganization of the fire department that would depend mainly on new recruits hired as strikebreakers, attempted to provoke a back-to-work stampede by falsifying the number of returning strikers, and played on social tensions to isolate the union.

But the Byrne strategy appears not to be working. Although some firefighters have returned, a few of them have since walked out a second time. They were either disgusted with the dangerous and slipshod firefighting of an inexperienced and exhausted crew of men (and the department's first woman, hired as a strikebreaker) or unable to continue to face their striking colleagues. Byrne's ultimatum that firefighters return to work by 8 p.m. Feb. 28 or face discipline brought back one man, whose wife is a Byrne-appointed deputy commissioner in the city government.

While Byrne's hard line with the firefighters was doing little to break their unity, it was backfiring elsewhere. As her stonewalling continued for over a week, there were signs of growing support for the firefighters—or criticism of her—

Byrne's refusal to bargain is swinging public opinion back to union as the bitter strike drags on.

even from people who had backed her.

Her controversial handling of the strike, on top of a series of other city crises and Democratic party feuding in recent months, also threatens the primary campaign of Senator Edward Kennedy and other Byrne-backed candidates. Byrne endorsed Kennedy early last fall after first appearing to support Carter. What then seemed like a major asset for Kennedy has since turned into a possible debit, since some voters—angry with Byrne—may take revenge on Kennedy. When the Senator showed up for a campaign appearance, firefighters picketed him even though their international union has endorsed him.

The breakdown in negotiations also brought a temporary split in the city's labor movement, which also was partly mended as labor leaders agreed on the necessity of getting Byrne back to the bargaining table. A committee of top Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) and Teamster officials had been instrumental in getting five of the firefighter leaders to sign a memorandum of understanding



with Byrne that would have brought strikers back to work while the settlement was worked out.

But the mayor refused to clarify questions the union had on their crucial demand of total amnesty and on whether the results of a fact-finding investigation would be binding. When the union executive board then rejected the "understanding," the CFL leaders were angry. They grew angrier yet when firefighters personally attacked CFL president Bill Lee.

But as Byrne grew tougher, several other labor leaders, mainly representing the progressive wing of Chicago labor, mobilized pressure on Lee. Going into the March 5 monthly meeting of the CFL, it appeared that the building trades would introduce a resolution attacking the firefighters. But that day Jim Balanoff, district director of the Steelworkers, Charles Hayes, vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers, and Norman Swenson, president of the community college teachers union, intervened to persuade Lee to set up a meeting between Byrne and firefighter inter-

national secretary-treasurer Frank Palumbo to see if negotiations could be resumed. Byrne agreed to the meeting.

Even if labor hadn't been rallied back, however mildly, on the side of the firefighters, Byrne faced a growing chorus of complaints from liberal, independent political figures and from community groups.

The fire department has relied heavily on inexperienced recruits since the strike. Although at one point the city claimed over 1,000 firemen out of 4,350 in the department had returned to work (later reducing that figure but refusing any independent corroboration), the union said fewer than 400 experienced firefighters were at work. Non-strikers who later joined the strike reported that confusion endangered both firefighters and the public and that only stripped-down fire and paramedical ambulance service were available.

Eventually even some newspaper columnists and editors, who have been strongly anti-strike, were turning around, criticizing Byrne's refusal to bargain.

LABOR

Equal time for union-busting firms

By Richard Kazis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

“WE MAKE A SERIOUS effort to be like a marriage counselor between employees and employers.” That is how Herbert Melnick, chairman of Modern Management, Inc., described his firm’s activities during the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations oversight hearings on Pressures in Today’s Workplace held in Washington on Feb. 26 and 27.

Fred Long, chairman of West Coast Industrial Relations, Inc., put it slightly differently. “I’d rather use the analogy of doctors. We find out what ails the company and then cure it. After that, we suggest preventive medicine to keep the company healthy.”

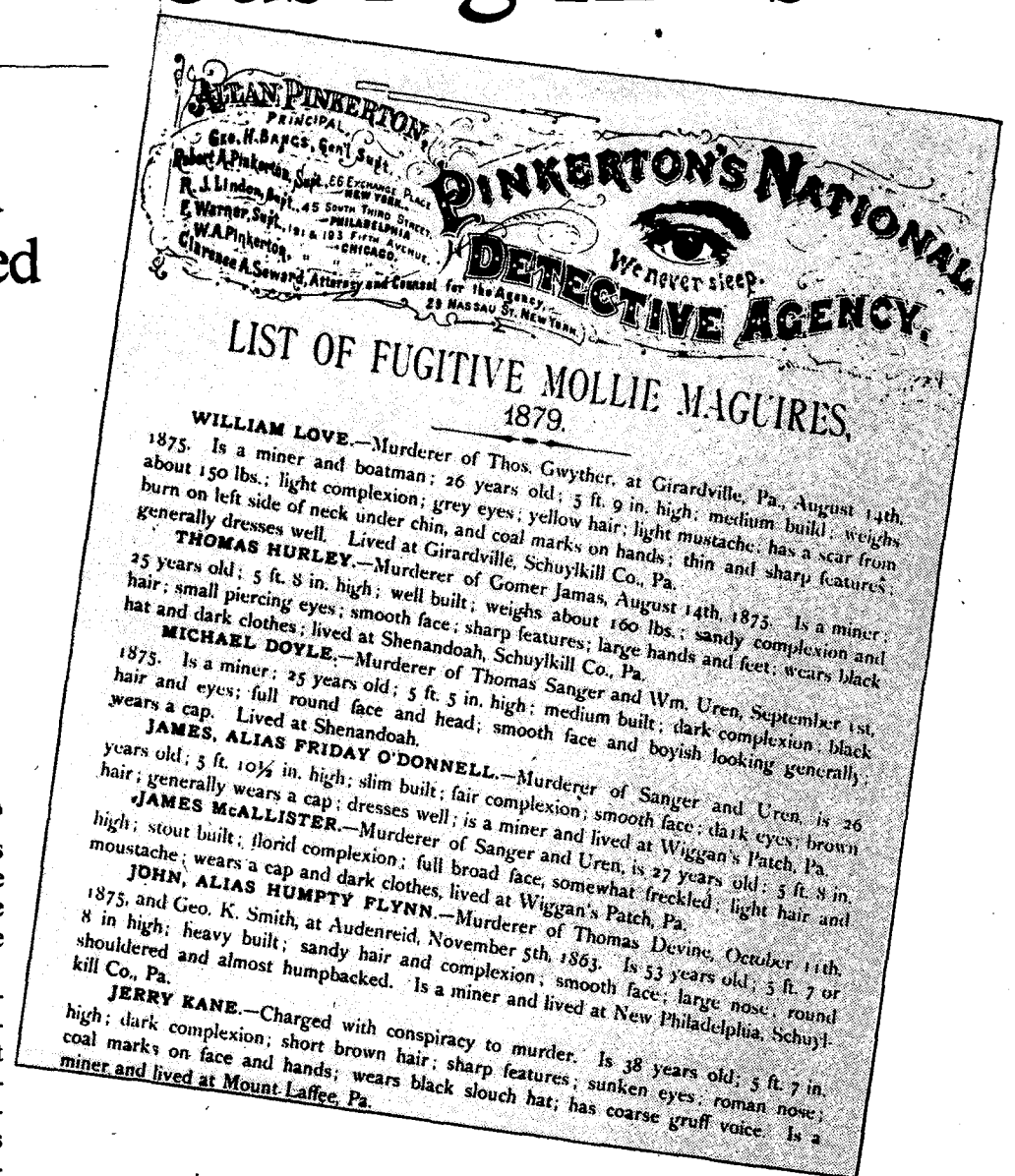
But people who have been on the receiving end of these firms’ efforts to help management implement, as Melnick puts it, “effective and meaningful programs for communications with employees” are neither so metaphorical nor so sanguine. Robert Muehlenkamp, Director of Organization for District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, followed Melnick’s testimony. “What you heard today is a lie,” he began. He went on in his statement to say, “Mr. Melnick’s business is to lie and to coerce. And he must therefore lie and paint a wholly fraudulent picture when he is finally forced by the subpoena power of this committee to discuss publicly how he earns his large fees.”

The business that Melnick, Long and others like them are involved in is union-busting—and business is booming. The AFL-CIO estimates that \$100 million will

One committee member charged that the new breed of management consultants have “replaced blackjacks and lead pipes with briefcases and pens.”

be spent this year for the services of firms that, as Representative Dale Kildee (D-Mich.) noted, “have replaced the blackjack and the lead pipe with the briefcase and the ballpoint pen.”

These two days of hearings were intended to give several of the most well-known and often-attacked management consultants a chance to defend and explain their activities. Jesse Hogg, a Florida lawyer who helped the PPG glass company in North Carolina avoid negotiating a contract with Teamsters Local 391 (ITT, Dec. 18) declined to appear, as did PPG executives. But a full panel of Modern Management top brass and Fred Long from West Coast Industrial Relations did offer to testify. In fact, they



not only defended their activities but mounted a smooth counterattack.

Melnick and Long gave similar testimonies. Each claimed to have engaged in no illegal activities. Each stressed that his firm was neither anti-union nor against collective bargaining. But both referred to labor unions as “outside representation” and insisted that workers turn to unions only when they are frustrated with unresponsive management. Both emphasized the importance of fostering cooperation between workers and management. Melnick explained that “modern Management teaches employers how to communicate with employees so that both sides recognize that they have more in common than in diversity.” Long echoed Melnick and went on to claim that when his firm’s work is completed, there is a “happier and more motivated workforce.”

Several witnesses and members of Congress challenged the consultants’ testimony. William Lively, who was personnel director at California’s Woodview Hospital during an anti-union campaign run by West Coast Industrial Relations in 1977, testified that WCIR put pressure on him to falsify records so that anti-union supervisory personnel would be allowed to vote in the election. He also explained how WCIR consultants had illegally initiated a campaign to decertify Local 399 of SEIU and how they had boasted that they could keep any election decision in the courts for years before it would be enforced.

Robert Muehlenkamp of District 1199 cited incident after incident in which 3M had worked to “destroy employee morale and lower worker productivity.” He questioned why, if 3M consultants are so benign and eager to promote cooperation, they never talk with employees but only with supervisors; they hold supervisory meetings off the employer’s property; they often refuse to give their full names to the supervisors they work with daily for months at a time; they forbid supervisors to tell employees what goes on in closed door meetings; they threaten supervisors with firing if they cannot convince workers to vote against the union. Muehlenkamp described the kind of psychological intimidation and fear fostered by Modern Management consultants and pointed to a “total breakdown of workplace communication” in hospi-

tals where the firm had been employed—a breakdown so complete that several hospitals were compelled to fire 3M consultants.

The reaction of the members of the subcommittee was disturbing. Most of the more liberal Democrats were not in attendance. Muehlenkamp’s credibility was aggressively challenged by John Ashbrook of Ohio and John Erlenborn of Illinois, both Republicans. “I have never heard such antagonistic testimony from a witness,” asserted Erlenborn, adding that Muehlenkamp’s claims were material for a libel suit if they could not be substantiated.

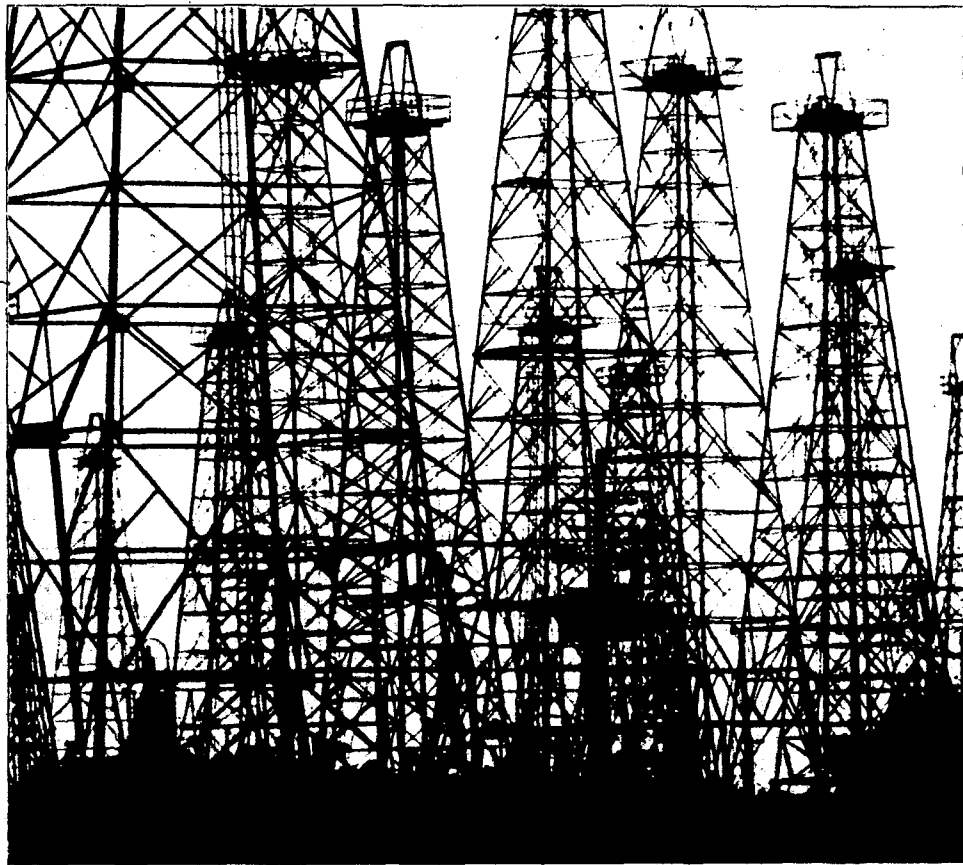
Except for Ted Weiss of New York, Democrats on the committee seemed either unprepared for battle or convinced by the consultants’ seamless testimonies. After Melnick finished, he was asked by William Ford (D-Mich.) if he saw a need to protect the ethical firms in the business from the “corner-cutters.” And after the hearings adjourned, subcommittee chair Frank Thompson Jr. told reporters that he thought Modern Management was a “reasonably decent outfit.”

Only Robert Muehlenkamp addressed the heart of the matter.

There were few challenges to the basic assumptions of Herbert Melnick, Fred Long, Jesse Hogg and others like them. These men in fact are anti-union and anti-labor. They see unions as obstacles to productivity and profit and, perhaps more importantly, as threats to the employer’s total control over his workforce. Their model is not democracy in the workplace, but enlightened despotism, with their firms serving as well-rewarded advisers to the kings.

It is unsettling that the basic right of workers to organize and to act in their own self-interest received so little defense during these two days of hearings and that the proponents of unrestricted prerogative for employers were given such a polite and sympathetic reception. The boldness of Melnick and Long as they sat before the subcommittee is a clear indication that the attack on labor’s right to organize is no longer confined to specific workplace campaigns. It has become a broad ideological offensive. ■

Richard Kazis is on the staff of the National Center for Jobs and Justice.



ENERGY & THE NEW COLD WAR

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NUCLEAR POWER

Reactor licensing resumes despite new string of mishaps

By Lili Francklyn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE NUCLEAR REGULATORY Commission's (NRC) year-long moratorium on nuclear licensing ended Feb. 28 with a vote to permit fueling and low-power testing at the Tennessee Valley Authority's Sequoyah Plant near Chattanooga, Tenn. The end of the ban was announced during a week of awkward public moments for the NRC. Shortly after commission chairman John Ahearne told Congress of the agency's intentions, the Crystal River plant near Tampa, Fla., spewed nearly 50,000 gallons of radioactive water into the containment building. As radioactivity in the building measured 15 roentgens per hour—200 times the normal amount—the Florida Power Company declared an emergency and commissioners Ahearne and Joseph Hendrie were dispatched to the NRC's "incidence response center" in Bethesda, Md. For 24 minutes, technicians at the Babcock and Wilcox plant worked in the dark, allowing cooling water to flood the reactor and the containment building. After the lights came back on, restored by an auxiliary power system, the NRC said there had been no damage to the reactor core and no outside radiation release.

According to Jim Leas of the Union of Concerned Scientists, "It's not a sufficient answer to claim that there was no harm to the public. The Crystal River accident is a graphic example of the NRC's failure to resolve long-standing safety problems and a warning that there are serious problems with the Babcock and Wilcox design." The plant malfunction has been attributed to technical work on the control panel that caused a power loss

Technicians at Florida's Crystal River plant worked 24 minutes in the dark as NRC heads waited at the "incidence response center."

to the reactor's key instruments.

In 1978 a similar incident occurred at the Rancho Seco plant near Sacramento, Calif., when a dropped lightbulb triggered a shutdown at that Babcock and Wilcox facility—a virtual copy of the crippled Three Mile Island reactor. Commenting on the Florida incident, the Union of Concerned Scientists called on the NRC to close down all B. and W. plants and resolve the generic problems with their "safety related" and "non-safety related" systems. Anything that falls into the latter category—such as the skittish B. and W. electrical systems—can escape the NRC's most rigorous requirements for redundancy, inspection and testing.

Despite the incident at Crystal River, the NRC reasserted its intention to proceed with the licensing program. During the week, several other cases of bad publicity for the nuclear industry surfaced:

• Officials of the Virginia Electric Power Company revealed that a janitor's errant shirttail had caused a four-day shut-

down of the North Anna power plant near Washington, D.C., by tripping a circuit breaker and activating the reactor's control rods. Cost to consumers is estimated at several hundred thousand dollars.

• Describing a public meeting on the safety of the Indian Point power plants near New York City as a "kangaroo conference," a *New York Times* editorial pointed out that the NRC staff had already struck a private deal with Con Edison.

• Participants at a recent international conference in Vienna, Austria, on International Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCE) offered a sanguine assessment of breeder reactor technology while projecting a seven-fold increase in supplies of plutonium. The 66-nation group assembled by the Carter administration in 1977 to confront the problem of weapons proliferation, finished its meeting with an endorsement of breeder development and concluded that plutonium-producing reactors would pose fewer safety and environmental problems than other nuclear technologies now in use. This despite the estimate that by the end of the decade the world supply of plutonium will be enough to make 50,000 nuclear bombs. Claiming that uranium supplies would run short by the end of the century without the breeder option, participating countries weakly asserted that the only way to stop nuclear weapons proliferation was by political agreement. At the Vienna conference, France announced its intention to sell weapons-grade uranium to Iraq.

The Carter administration's ambiguous reaction to the conclusions of the week-long Vienna meeting was, according to Eric Fersht of the Nuclear Information Resource Service (NIRS) characteristic of waffling on the domestic breed-

er program. Although the administration overtly opposes the commercial development of breeder technology, embodied in the Clinch River, Tenn., reactor, research is keeping the breeder option alive. In early February, the Fast Flux test facility began operating in Hanford, Wash.

The 1981 fiscal budget for the Department of Energy reduced the breeder program by 40 percent, to \$320 million, but it remains to be seen whether congressional advocates of nuclear power will be able to restore the funds. In the past, Congress has overridden the administration in support of breeder technology, finding means to continue the Clinch River project despite lack of support from the Department of Energy. The results of the Vienna meeting could bolster the arguments of breeder advocates and prolong the debate on developing a plutonium economy.

Meanwhile, a new anti-nuclear organizing effort is underway in the Southeast. A mid-February conference in Huntsville, Ala., drew more than 100 participants from surrounding states including Georgia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee. Focusing on organizing skills, outreach in local communities, and legal intervention, the meeting was the first effort to forge a broad coalition in the Tennessee Valley area.

According to Betsy Taylor of NIRS, the Southeast bears an unfair share of the national nuclear burden, with 60 plants operating or under construction. At last year's annual meeting of the Atomic Industrial Forum, the key nuclear lobbying group, Westinghouse chairman R.E. Kirby claimed the nuclear industry had pinned its hopes on the booming Sunbelt states as the region targeted for a new wave of plant orders in the mid-'80s.

Those plants may face stiff opposition from Southern activists. The first target of the new anti-nuclear effort will be the Tennessee Valley Authority's Sequoyah project. On March 29, Chattanoogaans for Safe Energy will host a demonstration to protest the first operating license to be issued in the wake of Three Mile Island.

Lili Francklyn is on the staff of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Policy.

HEALTH AND SAFETY

Supreme Court upholds workers' right to refuse work they believe is unsafe

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FIVE AND A HALF YEARS AFTER Virgil Deemer and Thomas Cornwell refused a direct order from their foreman at a Whirlpool appliance factory in Marion, Ohio, the Supreme Court has ruled they had a legal right to do so.

On Feb. 26, the Court upheld a 1973 Labor Department regulation allowing workers, under certain circumstances, to refuse to perform tasks that they believe pose an imminent danger of death or serious injury. In a unanimous decision, the justices ruled that the regulation, which also prohibits employer retaliation against workers who exercise this right, was "a permissible gloss" on the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 because it "clearly conforms to the fundamental objective of the act—to prevent occupational death and serious injuries."

The Court rejected Whirlpool's contention that the regulation was an unwarranted extension of workers' rights under the act. "It would seem anomalous," wrote Associate Justice Potter Stewart, "to construe an act so directed and constructed as prohibiting an employee, with no other reasonable alternative, the freedom to withdraw from a workplace environment that he reasonably believes is highly dangerous."

The 1973 regulation does not give em-

ployees the right to refuse any and all work assignments they consider potentially unsafe. It is designed to cover those rare cases where workers face an imminent danger when, due to the urgency of the situation, recourse to normal procedures—official complaints, OSHA inspections, court injunctions—is impossible. In such situations, a worker can exercise his legal right to refuse work as long as he or she believes in good faith that there is "a real danger of death or serious injury" and that there is "no reasonable alternative."

Take the case of Deemer and Cornwell. One of their duties as maintenance workers at Whirlpool was to mount a guard screen suspended 20 feet above the shop floor and retrieve appliances that had fallen from an overhead conveyor belt. Installed to protect workers from falling objects, the screen was a safety hazard in its own right for the maintenance crew. In spite of instructions to step carefully and only on the angle-iron frames of the screen, workers often lost their balance, stumbling onto the wire-mesh screen and at times breaking through. Once Cornwell slipped from an angle-iron and broke his wrist while trying to stop his fall after his foot plunged through the screen. Another employee fell all the way through the screen, but survived. And on June 24, 1974, a second worker fell through the guard screen, this time to his death on the floor below.

Deemer and Cornwell's refusal came

two weeks later. OSHA representatives had inspected the screen and ordered repairs (Whirlpool would eventually receive a citation for maintaining an "unsafe walking and working surface"; the citation has been appealed to the courts). The company had issued its own directive strictly forbidding workers to climb on either the frame of the screen or the wire-mesh itself. But convinced that they would eventually be ordered back on the screen, Deemer and Cornwell continued to complain about unsafe sections to their supervisor, the plant safety director and finally OSHA's district representative.

During the night shift of July 10, the two workers were ordered onto the screen by their foreman, apparently in violation of the recent company directive. When they refused, the two men were sent home for the remaining six hours of their shift. Written reprimands were put in their personnel files.

The district court that heard the Department of Labor complaint on behalf of Deemer and Cornwell agreed that their refusal to work was justified according to the 1973 regulation. However, it denied relief on the grounds that the regulation itself was invalid. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed this decision and Whirlpool petitioned the Supreme Court for review.

Industry has vigorously challenged the right to refusal as a dangerous threat to management authority in the workplace. Whirlpool argued that the regulation



Workers in Oregon mourn the loss of a crew member killed by a cave-in.

distorted the intent of Congress by giving workers rights that were expressly denied them when the law was passed—in particular, the right to "strike with pay," receiving wages for work not performed. According to the Whirlpool brief, this would be "a monumental change in prevailing labor policy," providing unions with "an economic weapon which employers could not hope to match...." Company lawyers warned that the right to refusal would "foster... disharmony in the workplace," inviting "continuous labor unrest" and even "industrial combat."

The Labor Department contended that the regulation corresponds to the preventive intent of the OSHA legislation and that it presented no threat of abuse because of its limited applicabil-

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IN THE WORLD

AFRICA

Whites in south are "twitchy"

Marxist leader Robert Mugabe of the ZANU-Popular Front won a surprisingly decisive victory in Zimbabwe's first free elections last week, capturing 57 of the 80 seats allotted to blacks by the Lancaster House agreement. Mugabe immediately announced his intention of forming a national unity government with followers of Joshua Nkomo, who won 20 seats, and open to other parties both white and black.

Our Southern Africa correspondent is in Salisbury and will report in the next issue on both the elections and the new government. Two correspondents who just returned from Southern Africa report here on the impact of the Zimbabwe vote on the neighboring states of South Africa and Mozambique.

By Charlotte Dennett

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

A CAPTAIN IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN infantry revealed to this reporter on March 1 that three battalions of the South African armed forces were on six-hour "call-up" alert awaiting orders to invade neighboring Zimbabwe. Their mission, he said, was to rescue

white Rhodesians who wanted to flee the country in the aftermath of the black elections that took place Feb. 27-29.

The soldier—also the son of a former member of parliament with close ties to the ruling National Party government of South Africa—explained that Pretoria expected violence to erupt in Zimbabwe regardless of the final outcome of the three-day election, considered the most important in African history.

Dressed in civilian clothes like scores of other young men sitting around the pool of the Southern Sun Airport Hotel outside Johannesburg, the soldier, who described himself as a rifleman, had been a troop trainer in Southwest Africa (Namibia) before being transferred to Johannesburg. His relocation to a hotel near South Africa's international airport suggested that South African troop movements were occurring clandestinely by air rather than overland to avoid detection at the time rumors were rife that South Africa was planning to assist white Rhodesian security forces in staging a coup in anticipation of victory at the polls for Marxist leader Robert Mugabe of the ZANU Popular Front.

In an effort to determine whether South African troops were massing along

the Zimbabwe border, *Nation* correspondent Jerry Zilg and I drove north to the border towns of Messina (South Africa) and Beitbridge (Zimbabwe) on the eve of the elections. To our surprise we found the two-mile stretch between the towns eerily quiet and devoid of military activity. But once we had passed through Rhodesian immigration at Beitbridge and then circled around to film the Rhodesian "exit" gate facing back into South Africa, we spotted an armored Rhodesian troop carrier transporting a dozen black soldiers in Rhodesian uniform. The driver pulled the vehicle up to the customs gate and, after simply handing in a document (no passports), proceeded through the gate, onto the bridge over the Limpopo River and into South Africa.

The possibility that these were genuine Rhodesian soldiers on a mission to South Africa is remote considering the greater tensions that existed behind them in Rhodesia; more likely, these were South African troops disguised in Rhodesian uniforms who were reporting back to their base in Messina.

The rifleman who spoke to us several days later at the airport offered a confirmation of this and volunteered that South African soldiers had been issued

fake Rhodesian passports and were deployed throughout Zimbabwe wearing Rhodesian uniforms.

Meanwhile, in Salisbury, foreign journalists had found other ways of sniffing out clandestine South African troops. At an informal press briefing on Feb. 23, a reporter asked Nicholas Fenn, spokesman for British governor Lord Soames, why certain soldiers stationed in the Rhodesian town of Chiradzvi had addressed their commanding officer as "commandant"—a term used only in the South African armed forces. Fenn, who had insisted in earlier press conferences that all South African troops had withdrawn from Rhodesian territory by the end of January, responded that he had not heard of such an incident and assured reporters that whatever soldiers they had seen in Chiradzvi were "under Rhodesian command, wearing Rhodesian uniforms, and are monitored like everyone else."

Fenn's feigned attempts at honesty began to arouse suspicion even among the more naive and transparently anti-communist members of the press.

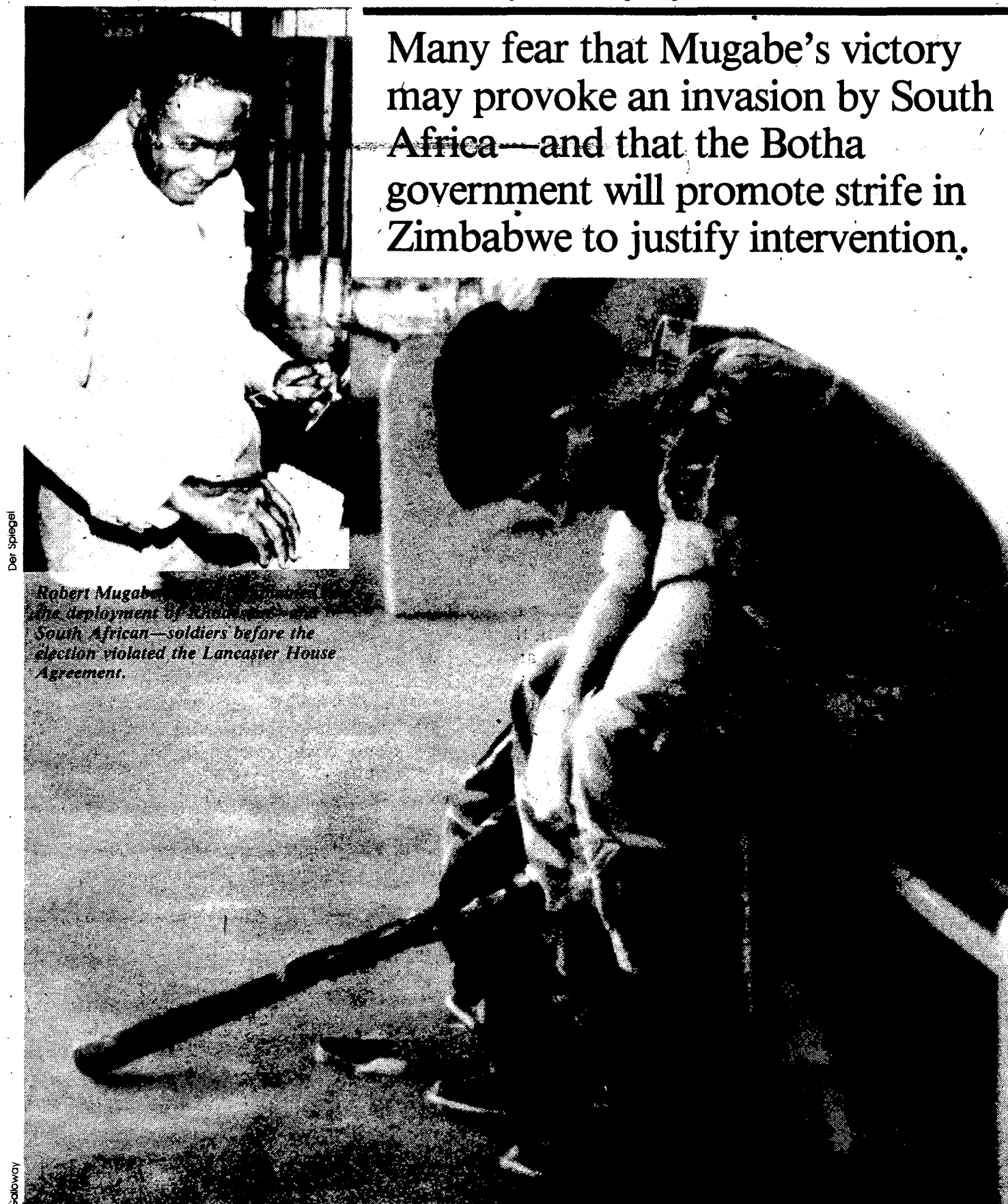
Least moved by British pretenses of fair play was the man who bore the brunt of combined Western, Rhodesian, and South African covert actions against himself and his party: Robert Mugabe. Having survived three assassination attempts, innumerable forms of harassment and a barrage of false propaganda linking him and ZANU with crimes ranging from burying opponents alive to sterilizing men and women of "enemy" tribes in order to create his own "master tribe" of terrorists, Mugabe repeatedly castigated both Lord Soames and later British foreign secretary Lord Carrington for violations of the Lancaster House ceasefire agreement, and particularly Britain's adeptness at turning a blind eye to the deployment of Rhodesian forces and between 6,000 and 7,000 South African troops dispersed between Chiradzvi, Beitbridge, and Bindura. Criticizing Lord Carrington's, and Britain's, failure to stop the arrival, on the opening day of the elections of 200 more South African troops in Salisbury, Mugabe posed a question that could one day prove highly embarrassing to the British and their allies: Was the mounting South African presence in Zimbabwe designed to "overthrow the government we intend to form following the certain election victory?"

Mugabe's worries were not unfounded. A craggy-faced Rhodesian rancher reputedly worth several million dollars and bearing a vulgar resemblance to Lyndon Johnson quietly but sincerely insisted that he and many others were stockpiling arms in the event of a Mugabe victory. The South African rifleman, for his part, urged me to write down "in white and black" that "we South Africans are going to go in no matter what happens," adding that South African forces would not be restrained as they had been four years ago by "you Americans" following their invasion of Angola. "We could have finished off the MPLA in five days," he said angrily, "but this time we don't care what America thinks or what President Carter does, particularly now when his only concern is to get re-elected."

This soldier's conviction that South African troops are poised for an invasion regardless of the election outcome raises the question of whether a game plan is in effect to provoke hostilities between whites and blacks after the election and so provide an acceptable pretext for a South African intervention: the need to rescue embattled whites from the war-torn country.

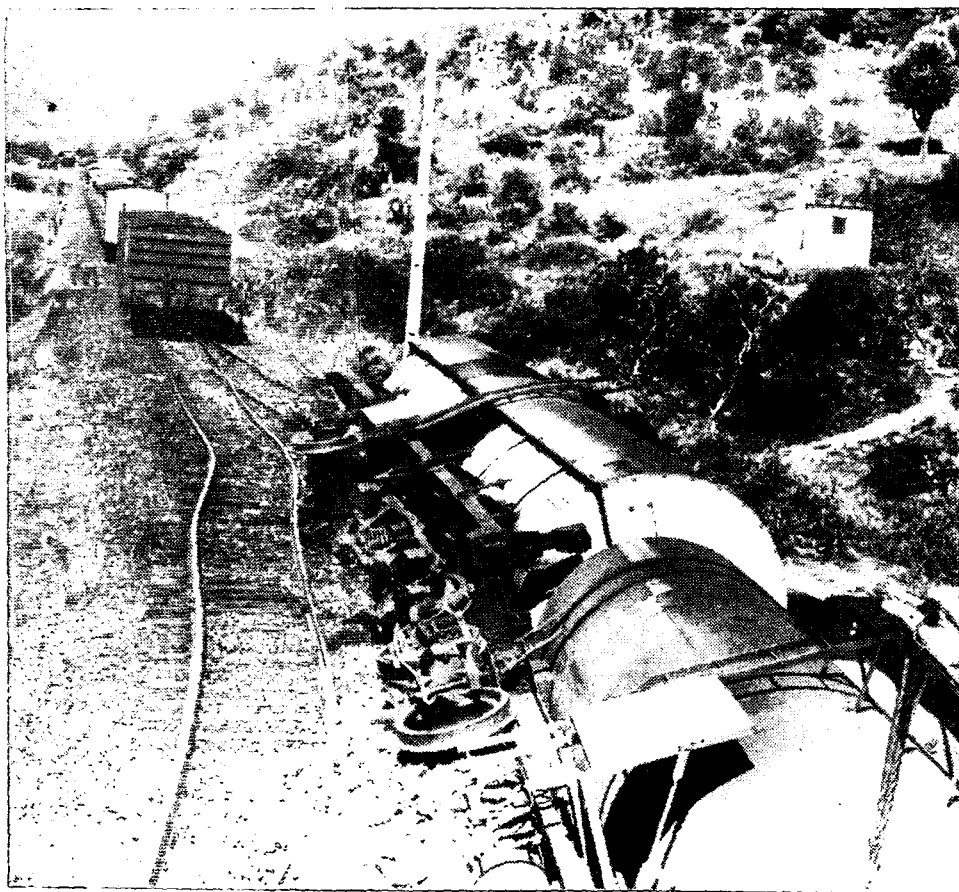
The Western-backed rescue of Belgians from Zaire's Katanga Province during the Shaba rebellion almost two years ago was regarded by some observers as a dress rehearsal for a larger-scale operation concentrating white troops in Rhodesia should the need arise to smash an emerging Marxist power in Africa's second most industrialized country. That time has now come, from the South African point of view. Even the liberal, British-based *Rand Daily Mail* of South Africa, while cautioning the Afrikaans nationalists to "stop all the wild talk" of intervention, in an editorial Feb. 23 ac-

Many fear that Mugabe's victory may provoke an invasion by South Africa—and that the Botha government will promote strife in Zimbabwe to justify intervention.



Robert Mugabe, leader of the ZANU-Popular Front, is seen here with other leaders of the party after the election. The deployment of Rhodesian and South African soldiers before the election violated the Lancaster House Agreement.

Continued on page 9.



Rhodesia's attacks have crippled transportation in rural areas.

Mozambique has paid a price

By Allen Isaacman and
Barbara Isaacman

PEACE, MAJORITY RULE AND the election of a progressive Patriotic Front-based government in Zimbabwe will have far-reaching implications for neighboring Mozambique. Since independence in 1975, Mozambique has given unqualified support to the Patriotic Front and as a result has suffered a series of attacks from Rhodesia that have devastated its economy. (Reports circulating in the West that Mozambique pressured the Patriotic Front to accept an unsatisfactory peace agreement were categorically denied in a question we posed to ZANU president Mugabe in Maputo.)

Indeed, during the past four years the survival of a socialist government in Mozambique has become more and more bound up with the struggle in Zimbabwe.

Consider the fact that since 1976 the Salisbury regime has launched more than 350 military assaults on Mozambique. While initially designed to intimidate unarmed Zimbabwean civilians who had fled across the border, by the end of 1978 the scale, intensity and objectives of these attacks had changed. No longer was the

Rhodesian regime content to kill or harass refugees—its fundamental goal was to disrupt Mozambique's fragile economy, create popular discontent and demonstrate to the FRELIMO Party the futility of continued support for the Patriotic Front.

During the past year Rhodesian forces and anti-FRELIMO mercenaries have blown up the strategic railway bridge on the Beira-Moatize line—preventing the export of coal for several weeks—destroyed agricultural projects in the fertile Manica highlands and repeatedly sabotaged trains and trucks throughout the central zone.

In an unequivocal warning to FRELIMO on the eve of the Lancaster House negotiations, Bishop Muzorewa's troops attacked the agro-industrial complex in the fertile Limpopo valley 250 miles inside Mozambique. Hundreds of unarmed Mozambicans were killed and a number who survived recounted to us how the Rhodesian troops (aided by several former Portuguese planters from the area) terrorized the population, vandalized homes and businesses and robbed large sums of money. In addition to destroying bridges and agricultural equipment, Rhodesian bombs damaged a major dam, which could reduce the country's rice production by more than 10 percent.

These attacks, which continued

ing potential for turning into its opposite—a radical constellation of front-line states comprised of Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Mozambique surrounding the "republic" on all sides.

Rhodesia's lieutenant general Peter Wald, head of the armed forces, assured Robert Mugabe and his allies in the Organization of African Unity that there would be no white-led coup in Zimbabwe following the election. But he did not make assurances that South Africa would refrain from trying to rescue whites should chaos break out—and there is no assurance that Wald will be able to keep white Rhodesians, including those in the armed forces, in line. Mugabe, who has survived all the West's efforts to disorient and discredit him, has proven to be more of a challenge than anticipated. Right up until the last minute he infuriated the British by leaving the country unexpectedly and flying to Mozambique and Tanzania for consultations, returning just before his landslide victory was announced. The ZANU-PF leader is clearly readying his forces for a possible showdown and all we can do is hold our breath and wait.

Charlotte Dennett returned last week from Salisbury and Johannesburg.

throughout 1979, failed to reduce FRELIMO's commitment to the Patriotic Front or to generate the popular discontent that Salisbury had hoped for and much of the Western press had predicted. But they did paralyze key sectors of Mozambique's rural economy. Official government reports estimate total losses—including destroyed transport and agricultural equipment and damage to dams and bridges—at more than \$50 million. For a country already suffering from a balance of payments deficit of more than \$200 million per year, this is a costly blow.

Beyond the material losses, the destruction of fields and the intimidation of peasants have reduced production, while sabotaging bridges, trucks and trains has meant that much of what was produced in the southern half of the country never reached the urban markets.

Slow progress.

Mozambique supported the UN boycott against the Rhodesian regime and denied Salisbury use of the port of Beira, its principal international outlet. This action has cost Mozambique more than \$500 million in rail and transit fees over the past four years—hard currency desperately needed for capital goods.

Despite these economic difficulties, the government has moved forward with programs to guarantee all Mozambicans the basic necessities. It has nationalized and transformed education, health, housing and legal services. The number of children attending school had jumped from 400,000 to 1.6 million, for example, and 300,000 adults are attending literacy classes in a society that had previously been 90 percent illiterate. Health care is now free and 95 percent of the population has been inoculated against smallpox and other infectious diseases.

Already the quality of life has dramatically improved for the overwhelming majority of Mozambicans. Yet despite the establishment of more than 1,000 communal villages, greater collectivization of labor and increased worker participation in the decision-making process, even the most productive sectors of the economy have had sporadic and uneven growth; economic development in the southern half of the country has been virtually paralyzed as a result of the Rhodesian attacks.

Peace in Zimbabwe could provide the resources and stability essential to Mozambique president Machel's recent pledge that "poverty will be eradicated in the decade of the '80s." The lifting of

United Nations-sponsored sanctions and the reopening of the port at Beira to Rhodesian traffic will begin to provide Mozambique with much-needed foreign currency and alleviate serious social problems in Mozambique's third largest city. Once a bustling transit center, during the past four years, Beira has suffered from widespread unemployment, making it the target for Rhodesian infiltrators.

The cessation of hostilities will also enable Mozambique to continue to develop its potentially rich rural economy. Major farming and forestry projects, especially in the fertile Manica highlands, that had to be suspended and foreign technicians withdrawn after repeated raids from across the border, can now be reopened. For the past three years the government also has had to divert badly needed foodstuffs to Zimbabwean refugees who at the time of the Lancaster House Agreement in December numbered more than 150,000.

With the end of the war, anti-government mercenaries have disappeared. Although never posing a serious threat to FRELIMO's popularity, the Mozambican National Resistance Movement (armed and trained by Rhodesia) has been able, through sabotage and attacks on rural villages, to create a sense of instability and uncertainty in Mozambique's central provinces of Manica and Sofala. Without the constant supply of arms and ammunition from Rhodesia, and without air and logistic support, the mercenaries had to lay down their arms and flee the country.

But there remains one imponderable that could dramatically alter Mozambique's future—the threat of attack from South Africa. A close adviser to President Machel informed us that there was a growing concern that South Africa would use the pretext of the "breakdown of law and order" in Zimbabwe or a Mugabe victory to intervene militarily in Zimbabwe and at the same time unleash a preventive attack against Mozambique, which Pretoria claims is housing both ANC (African National Congress) and ZANU freedom fighters. Recent South African saber rattling and the deployment of a large force on the Mozambican border suggest such a possibility. Most ominous is a secret South African memorandum sent to the Mozambican foreign ministry on Feb. 19 threatening "to take whatever action necessary to protect its national interests."

Allen and Barbara Isaacman recently returned from an 18-month teaching assignment in Mozambique.

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Pretoria

Continued from page 8.

knowledge that the South African government was "understandably twitchy" particularly at a time when the Botha government's efforts to bring about reforms in the country could disintegrate and the whole prospect of bringing peace to Southern Africa through negotiations could backfire if "elections in Zimbabwe failed and white refugees came streaming across the Limpopo into South Africa." Undoubtedly, South Africa's ultra-nationalistic conservatives would like nothing better.

South Africa's racists had only a limited amount of time to reflect on the fact that they had seriously misjudged Mugabe's popularity and had made a fundamental error in throwing all their money behind Zimbabwe's former prime minister, Bishop Abel Muzorewa. As the *Rand Daily Mail* pointed out, their lofty concept of the conservation of moderate southern African states centering on the Republic that would result from a Muzorewa victory suddenly showed a terrify-

EUROPE



As PCI head Enrico Berlinguer (left) nurtures new ties to Europe's socialist parties, Christian Democratic hardliner Amintore Fanfani (right) is moving to isolate the Communists.

Italian anti-communists exploit Russian actions

By Diana Johnstone

COLD WAR II IS THE LATEST excuse for freezing Italy's political life. With heavy German prodding, the Christian Democratic Party (DC) congress in Rome has slammed the door shut on any "historic compromise" that would involve Communist participation in government.

The triumph of the anti-communist right at the Feb. 15-21 DC congress was something of a surprise. The PCI's strong condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan—only the latest in a series of open disagreements with the Kremlin—seemed to offer final proof that the foreign policy of Enrico Berlinguer's party is not made in Moscow. Outgoing DC secretary general Benigno Zaccagnini opened the congress by suggesting that the PCI should no longer be blackballed for ideological reasons.

But West German Christian Democratic Union (CDU) chairman Helmut Kohl changed the mood of the gathering. "In our view," Kohl told the congress, "it seems more unthinkable today than ever before that a party whose spiritual sources are the same as the brutal invaders of Afghanistan, as the oppressors of Eastern Europe and a part of my own country, should participate with a Christian Democratic party in a European government." Delegates and visitors warmly applauded this exotic self-righteousness. "They don't understand us, but if that's the way they feel about it..." seemed to be the reaction of many Italian Christian Democrats to the German strictures.

With this encouragement, the anti-PCI wing around Amintore Fanfani went on to win a majority on the party's national council against Zaccagnini and

PCI condemnations of Soviet foreign policy have not softened right-wing opposition to "historic compromise."



former prime minister Giulio Andreotti, heirs to the Aldo Moro approach of stringing the PCI along. But the new majority was unable to agree on much else and put off naming a new party leader to a later meeting of the national council. This infuriated delegates and the visitors' galleries, which resounded with shouts of "Clowns! Sold out! Mafiosi! Vaffanculo stronzo!" in the best tradition of tumultuous DC party congresses.

Intent on taking sides in the East-West conflict, the congress left domestic problems up in the air. Yet these are so alarming that Zaccagnini, in his nearly endless (161 pages) opening report, had spoken of a "national emergency." Mounting inflation, terrorism, the energy crisis, the absence of any stable parliamentary majority all moved Zaccagnini to ask the congress to give DC leaders a mandate to

let the PCI into a government coalition—if the parties could agree on major issues. This was a big if. Probably all Zaccagnini wanted was to give DC leaders more bargaining leeway, the better to lure the PCI into further policy compromises, following the technique perfected by Moro before he was kidnapped and murdered by the Red Brigades. Zaccagnini himself laid out a set of foreign policy conditions that PCI leaders could hardly have accepted.

Now that the PCI can no longer credibly be accused of alignment with Moscow on international issues, it is being condemned for its policy of nonalignment. Zaccagnini demanded that the PCI reject any "third force" role for Europe between the U.S. and the USSR, or any approach to the Third World smacking of nonalignment that could weaken Western solidarity. In short, he required from the PCI an alignment with Washington more unconditional than that of the Bonn government or of any French political party, right or left.

Meanwhile, PCI leaders have been busy explaining their foreign policy to party members at home and to potential allies abroad, especially among Europe's socialist parties.

A third force.

A principal objective of PCI foreign policy is to help disentangle social upheavals from great-power rivalries. The deepening economic disaster of much of the Third World makes such upheavals inevitable, and the notion that they must necessarily enlarge one power bloc—the Soviet—at the expense of the other—the American—makes war almost as inevitable. That notion has been dangerously played up by apologists for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Berlinguer says he is not sure just why the Russians decided to invade Afghanistan, but that in any case it is unjustifiable. Neither the

USSR nor the U.S. must try to "enlarge its sphere of influence."

In recent speeches, Berlinguer has criticized the Carter administration for a series of foreign policy blunders, starting with inept handling of the human rights issue, that have damaged detente. But he gives the U.S. credit for having avoided military intervention, whereas the USSR, according to the PCI leader, has taken advantage of certain situations for "direct or indirect interventions in some parts of Africa and Asia."

The Italian Communists' increasingly dim view of Soviet foreign policy is based in part on their own particular experience. They got a memorable lesson a couple of years ago when they tried to use their longstanding good relations with both sides to head off a fratricidal war between Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. Since it was clear that Soviet and Cuban military support were going to give the Ethiopians a smashing victory over the Somali invaders, Italian Communist intermediaries got a commitment from Mogadishu to withdraw and thus save its forces. PCI insiders recall that right after they conveyed this peaceful intention to the Russians, Moscow gave the go-ahead to the Ethiopian offensive that slaughtered the Somali forces.

Resentment over such incidents is confined to the upper reaches of the party. To explain the condemnation of the USSR to the sometimes skeptical rank and file, discussions have been held on the Afghanistan issue in all the PCI's 11,000 local sections. Turnout has been heavy and debate reportedly lively.

In case anyone fancies the PCI stance was merely designed to get into the government, it can be pointed out that Giorgio Amendola, generally considered the most conservative and "social democratic" of PCI leaders and perhaps the most anxious to see the party assume governmental responsibility, has expressed the most understanding for Russian fears that may have motivated the invasion of Afghanistan. Amendola is not particularly pro-Soviet, just sensitive to "reasons of state." On the other hand, the harshest criticism of the USSR has come from Pietro Ingrao, main spokesperson of the PCI's left wing.

Lucio Magri, leader of the barely parliamentary Democratic Party of the Proletarian Unity (PDUP), which is politically close to Ingrao, welcomed the DC's "no" to coalition with the PCI as a chance for the left to offer a real alternative. He called for left unity around three points: a new foreign policy based on building a Third World force combining Europe and the nonaligned countries, economic planning, and a principled fight against terrorism without resorting to ineffective but dangerous emergency laws. Even though Magri's proposals probably make sense to most left-voting Italians, past experience does not suggest that the left parties will rush to take them up.

Meanwhile, in the European Parliament in Strasbourg, French socialist Claude Estier revealed, "an important event took place" behind the scenes: "the rapprochement between the socialist group and the Italian Communists." Estier, vice president of the socialist caucus in the European Parliament and one of Francois Mitterrand's closest associates, disclosed that the PCI had helped draft the text of the socialist resolution condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. "To appease certain fears of our Italian socialist friends and part of the German Social Democratic Party, we finally submitted it in our own name only, with the agreement of the Italian Communists who gave it their votes in the balloting," Estier added.

PCI leaders seem to hope that rapprochement with the French socialists can eventually break the ice with the German social democrats, who could in turn eventually persuade Washington to lift its veto of PCI participation in the Italian government. What with French Communist Party leader George Marchais sledgehammering away at French socialist hopes of left unity with his defense of Moscow, French socialists are in a mood to show they can be reasonable with a Eurocommunist party that is reasonable, like the Italian one. ■

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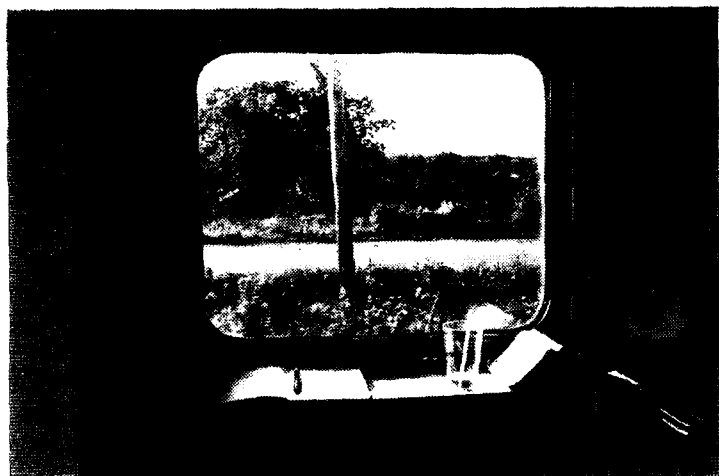
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The Passenger Vanishes

THE LATE TRAIN ROBBERY

Despite the great energy-efficiency of the passenger train, both the government and the railroads are undermining service.

Photos by Diane Schmidt

By Mark Schapiro

In 1977 President Carter pledged an assault on America's diminishing petroleum resources that would be the "moral equivalent of war." Since then, his interest in war has turned elsewhere, while on the energy front his administration has further undercut our most energy-efficient mode of transportation, the passenger train.

Last October, Amtrak's route mileage was slashed from 27,000 to 23,000 miles, five train lines were discontinued and most others were restructured. Oklahoma, South Dakota and Maine lost their Amtrak service; major cities like Wichita, Kan., Columbus, Ohio, and Nashville, Tenn., were also knocked out of the system.

Before the cuts, a Congressional Budget Office report concluded that Amtrak could save 873,000 barrels of oil per day by 1984 by attracting people away from more inefficient modes of transport—a saving over 10 years equivalent to the amount of crude oil produced by the U.S. in 1975. An 18-car passenger train, pulled by two locomotives, yields 450 passenger miles per gallon of fuel. This compares to 250 passenger miles per gallon for intercity buses; between 36 and 62 for passenger jets; and between 20 and 40 for passenger cars.

Former Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams—who engineered the Amtrak "restructuring"—argued that the government no longer has an obligation to sustain what it calls an unprofitable enterprise or an obsolete transportation system.

Adams' proposal, embodied in the 1980 Rail Passenger Service Act, attempts to bring Amtrak closer to its 1971 mandate to perform as a "profit-making corporation." Long-distance trains are to be cut if they carry less than 150 passengers per train mile and lose more than .07¢ per mile; short distance trains must carry at least 100 passengers per train and lose not more than .09¢ per mile.

But for opponents of the cuts—led by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the United Transportation Union and environmental groups—the key issue in evaluating Amtrak is not profitability but its efficiency as a public service. They point out that no national passenger rail service in the world makes money; Europe's and Japan's highly efficient passenger railroads are subsidized wholly by their governments.

Amtrak, however, is officially a private corporation subsidized with government money, and expected someday to turn a profit. It is intended to "lose" \$821.4 million in 1980, the amount that Congress authorized for picking up the rail service's debts and paying for new capital acquisitions and improvements

Continued next page.



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(excluding the Northeast Corridor Improvement Project, which is funded separately). The new budget sets the goal that Amtrak's ticket revenue contribution to the system's operating budget increase from the present 37 percent to 50 percent over the next five years.

Amtrak's western regional public affairs officer, Arthur Lloyd, admits that "the profit provision is a fallacy of thinking. It was mostly to get the Nixon administration to go along with it. We don't kid ourselves about profit—no passenger service in the world makes a profit."

Actually, the private lines are profiting from passenger service like they never could if they had full responsibility for the passenger service. They supported the creation of Amtrak in 1971 because it offered the chance to sever their highly profitable freight enterprises from their unprofitable passenger routes.

"It's still their railroad," says Lloyd. "We have what we call 'trackage rights.' We run our trains and our equipment over their tracks." (Because it is not a fully public rail service Amtrak does not own the tracks it runs on, except in the Northeast Corridor, where the DOT purchased the tracks from Penn Central and 11 other bankrupt railroads.)

Amtrak now pays up to one-quarter of its yearly budget to the private lines for the use of tracks and for operating services and maintenance necessary to keep the trains rolling. It reimburses the private lines for the salaries—plus a 10 percent service fee—of engineers, switchmen and dispatchers who control traffic on the routes, and of mechanics who maintain the trains.

In return for these payments, Amtrak's passenger trains, according to federal law, are supposed to be guaranteed priority if there is a track scheduling conflict with a private freight.

But a recent suit filed by Amtrak against Southern Pacific illustrates the problem with this arrangement.

"No matter what the law, the privates own the track," asserts John Webb, a bartender on California's Oakland-Bakersfield line. His train, the "San Joaquin," runs on Southern Pacific's tracks. "Technically," he continues, "the dispatcher has the responsibility to make sure the passenger trains run on time. But he works for the railroad, he wants to get promoted, do a good job for them. So if he has a conflict between a money-making freight and an Amtrak train he doesn't care about, what's he going to decide?"

Webb helped organize an unprecedented coalition of union and environmental activists and senior citizens groups, like the Grey Panthers, that coordinated a statewide campaign against the cuts. The group, Demand Adequate Rail Travel (DART) charged the private railroads that own the tracks in California—the Southern Pacific, Union Pacific and Santa Fe—of purposely neglecting maintenance and operating functions to give Amtrak a bad name. They claimed that harassment of the passenger trains has led to poor service and rising deficits, and that many Amtrak lines have never been given the chance to succeed. If services were improved, they would be used by more people and some of the losses Amtrak suffers due to low ridership could be reversed.

Even in the face of inadequate services and high fares—two 7 percent fare increases since last summer—passengers continue to flock to the train stations. Ridership increases of up to 1000 percent were recorded at Amtrak stations across the country last summer, while DOT figures indicate a general ridership increase of 22 percent between 1972 and 1978, from 15.5 million to 18.9 million passenger trips per year. A Harris poll conducted in 1978 found 60 percent of the people favoring expansion of Amtrak's services.

The Department of Transportation's original plan to cut Amtrak's routes by 43 percent were stymied partially by an overwhelming show of public support for Amtrak. At hearings held by the Interstate Commerce Commission last year on the plan, private citizens spoke ten-to-one

Continued on page 14.



Subordination to corporate priorities has meant starving Amtrak and cheating on its contracts with the railroads, while auto subsidies grow.

Amtrak Sues Southern Pacific

By Danny Biggs & Joel Parker

On Wednesday, Dec. 2, Marjorie McGrath boarded Amtrak's Sunset Limited train in New Orleans, with bright expectations for a journey to Seattle, Wash.

"I hadn't been on a train since World War II, so I thought I'd give Amtrak a try," McGrath recalls.

The train left New Orleans on schedule, due to arrive in Los Angeles two mornings later, where McGrath would catch the Coast Starlight north to Seattle.

McGrath remembers dozing off about 6:30 p.m. Several hours later she woke up and noticed the train was neither moving nor at a station. A porter told her that the train had been held up for five hours. "Don't worry, there's nothing wrong with the train," he assured her. "We're just waiting for some freights to clear. This happens every trip."

McGrath finally made it to Los Angeles ten hours late, missing her connection to Seattle. Amtrak personnel shuttled her to the L.A. airport where she caught a plane to Oakland in time to get the northbound Starlight. Her baggage, however, didn't make the connection. She had to wait two days in Seattle to receive it.

Her response to the trip? "Never again!"

A perfect record.

McGrath's experience was shared by nearly all Sunset Limited riders between July and December 1979. Finally, Amtrak took action. In an unprecedented move Dec. 20, Amtrak's president Alan Boyd instigated the U.S. Department of Justice to file suit against the Southern Pacific, the operating railroad of the Sunset Limited.

The civil suit states that, as a result of SP's preference for freights over passenger trains, Amtrak's Sunset Limited did

not finish a single trip on time from July through October. During the first two weeks of December, the train was late every day and on four occasions by more than nine hours. One train operated on schedule in November.

The suit confines itself to Southern Pacific operations on a 362-mile segment of the route between New Orleans and Houston because this segment is where most of the delays occurred. Hearings on the suit began in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. on Feb. 4. Final determination is expected in mid-March.

Federal law requires that train dispatchers give scheduling priority to passenger trains except in an emergency. SP's dispatching and other actions in the New Orleans-Houston division, the Justice Department asserts, caused Amtrak serious and irreparable injury both financially and in its ability to serve its passengers.

"The delays experienced by passengers on the Sunset Limited discourage the public from using it and deprive it of passenger train service as an alternative means of transportation," the suit states. The delays defeat the purpose of the federal act that created the nation's intercity passenger rail service, it adds.

At the Feb. 4 hearings, Amtrak presented expert testimony, including that of Southern Pacific conductors, showing that in every situation SP's action resulted in maximum delays for Amtrak and the least possible for freights. SP attorneys did not contest this charge.

SP's defense rested on the assertion that it had no "conscious policy" of giving freights priority over passenger trains, but that "extreme freight congestion" on its Lafayette Division caused the problem.

SP attempted to block Amtrak from putting additional observers in the cabs of its locomotives to become familiar at



the scene with the causes of delay. But Amtrak obtained a court order from Judge John Penn on Jan. 15, forcing SP to comply with this request.

At Southern Pacific's headquarters in San Francisco, SP public relations staff claimed unfamiliarity with the details of the suit, and attributed the delays to "track repair, floods, and labor problems." An officer in SP's passenger department told us that the blame rested on "individual train dispatchers" who have since been replaced.

SP's intransigence and denial of wrong doing is consistent with its previous attitude toward rail passenger service. When Amtrak was created in 1970, Southern Pacific chairman B.F. Biaggini remarked that its purpose was to "preside over the orderly demise of rail passenger service in this country."

For years Southern Pacific has fought any expansion of Amtrak operations over its lines. Currently, Amtrak and the California Department of Transportation are embroiled with SP in a fight over adding a passenger train from Sacramento to Los Angeles. SP is demanding \$23 million from Amtrak and the state of California to upgrade a 17.2 mile stretch of track on the proposed route, claiming that without additional track it would suffer from interference with its freight operations. The dispute is now in the hands of the National Mediation

Continued on page 14.

ding The way Hab

By Glenn Yago

There is another bail-out brewing in Washington. The money involved is more than Chrysler and Lockheed ever dreamed of, more than a national health care system could ever cost. The proposals are not to save another corporation from bankruptcy, but to save a faltering dinosaur that supports leading big business interests: the highway transportation system.

Synthetic fuels, reinvention of the car, bus subsidies, and increased highway construction make up a very expensive package to prop up the crumbling transportation status quo. The price tag for all this is \$300-\$500 billion. You can guess who is being invited to pay.

But the ultimate cost of maintaining a transportation policy built on concrete is not only monetary, it defies our increasingly energy scarce reality.

Yet, while France, Germany and Japan are pouring millions into high-speed inter-city rail service and urban rail systems, the American government is increasing our dependency on highways. The recent federal budget guarantees that more money will be spent on the MX missile rail system than on moving train riders in American cities.

The highway habit will cripple our transportation system for years to come. By the time oil runs out, industries that could have produced a balanced transportation system will have long ago declined.

The cost of the automobile.

Let's see how close highway dependency came to delivering cheap, safe and efficient transportation. Individually we spend nearly four times as much on transportation now as we did 70 years ago (the proportion of personal consumption expenditures on transportation increased from 5.1 percent in 1909 to 19.2 percent in 1979.) Federal and state highway trust funds in the '50s created the biggest and sloppiest pork barrel in history and the largest public works project the world has ever seen. In typical accommodation of corporate interests, the government financed highway construction costs without doing anything to control prices charged by private firms. Automobile and oil giants, as well as local land speculators and contractors fed at the highway trough. Public money financed their profits.

Direct federal expenditures for the national highway program so far are \$200-300 billion. Highway lobbyist Peter Koltnow, former president of the Highway Users for Safety and Mobility and currently head of the National Transportation Research Board, predicts it will take well more than that to maintain those roads until 1990. He predicts that the Interstate highway system will be "the Penn Central of the next generation." Since World War II, state and local highway debt rose from \$3.6 billion to \$24 billion.

Fiscal crisis hasn't slowed the paving business. *Engineering News Record* reported highway construction up 108 percent last year. And costs have spiraled. In 1978 highway construction costs were up 19.8 percent over the previous year.

Aside from highway expenditures, there are many hidden fiscal burdens of auto-dependency—police and safety services, local road construction and maintenance, snow removal, and the like. There are also indirect costs of auto accidents, energy waste, and environmental damage. Finally, there are expenses of expanded social services, declining urban taxes, and real estate abandonment that accompany the low density land use of the highway age.

Not only do we spend more money traveling, it takes more time and energy to get where we are going. The average

time required to travel to work, the trek comprising most urban travel, has remained constant despite faster cars. In urban centers most dependent on highway traffic, the average travel time to work has increased. Moreover, it takes longer for the average blue collar worker and the poor to travel to work than it did just after World War II. Projections by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment predict that average travel time to work will increase 15-20 percent by the year 2000. Construction of new roads designed to relieve congestion doesn't do so. A growing workforce with out suitable mass transit simply means heavier auto traffic.

That our highway transportation system wastes natural resources and oil is clear. The motor vehicle industry alone consumes a substantial amount of the total American steel, aluminum, lead, iron, rubber, and zinc production. Since auto production and profits are based largely on obsolescence (annual style changes and low annual years of use), resource depletion will increase, thus escalating future transportation costs.

As a result of government regulation, the auto industry has begun to produce more energy efficient cars. But fuel efficient cars have not meant energy savings. If automobiles now get better gas mileage, people also drive more. Even though mileage efficiencies improve, drivers have more miles to travel because of land use patterns resulting from constantly increasing highway construction and diffuse residential and industrial construction. Without mass transit alternatives that encourage travel closer to and within cities, suburbanization and decentralized plant locations will continue to increase. And new highway construction, increases the number of places accessible solely by car.

In short, our transportation system is expensive, wasteful and dangerous. Who made it that way? Why do we continue to pay for their mistake of highway dependency? IN THESE TIMES has recounted how auto-oil-rubber corporations conspired to dismantle electrical railways and convert them to buses (April 18, 1979). That same corporate coalition, led by Alfred Sloan Jr. at General Motors, created the National Highway Users Conference, which has led the highway lobby for years. That same corporate group still prods public policy along the path of highway transportation.

Every attempt at revitalizing mass transportation in the U.S. has been sabotaged by the Highway Lobby. In 1973, Congress approved limited diversions of the highway trust fund to mass transit uses. The victory for environmentalists, pro-transit consumers, and big city mayors was short-lived. The following year the highway lobby succeeded in adding legislative provisions permitting states to spend trust fund monies for road repair instead of mass transit. Later congressional decisions allowed money eliminated from one interstate segment to be substituted for another highway segment elsewhere.

Little of the money allocated for urban mass transit projects has been used for them. Of the \$1.5 billion made available during the 1974-75 fiscal year, only \$140 million was transferred to mass transit. In Minneapolis, for example, only 13 percent of available mass transit funds were used for that purpose—the rest went for highways and parking lots. In 1977, the Comptroller General's Office blamed the lack of mass transit expenditures on "institutional biases" of state and local governments and the highway lobby's efforts to increase the percentage of federal assistance for highways over that of mass transit.

Rail transit proposals have been under steady attack by the corporate highway coalition and its government allies. Pres-



ident Carter has dismissed new rail systems for cities as "overdesigned." Before his resignation, Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams threatened to remove federal fundings for cities that use monies for rail projects instead of interstate highway completions.

The corporate strategy for public transportation is to push buses. The Institute for Defense Analysis, the Congressional Budget Office, the National Transportation Policy Study Commission and, of course, General Motors have published widely circulated studies to defuse congressional support for rail transit. Using antiquated research methods and pre-energy crisis ridership data, these studies argue that attempts to increase public ridership through rail construction will be too costly.

Last year's Office of Technology Assessment's \$1.4 million report on the future of the automobile ignored rail alternatives. This was no surprise, considering that the advisory panel for that study included Dr. William G. Agnew, GM Research Labs; Leo Blatz, Exxon; John J. Byrne, GEICO (auto insurance); Dr. Lamont Eltinge, Eaton Corporation Research Center (auto parts supplier); Ken Joscelyn (Highway Safety Research Institute); and Archie Richardson, Auto Owners Action Council. There were token consumer representatives on this panel. But as one panel member said: "It was the auto industry that narrowed the focus of the study to their product."

Declining know-how.

Ironically, in the country where Richard Sprague discovered electrical traction, that technology has simply disappeared. In designing the new San Francisco streetcar system, one city official reported, "There are not enough qualified engineers who work on this anymore." Most electrical parts for the new system had to be imported from Sweden and West Germany since no American producers could be found.

The quality of rail car equipment has also declined. Since the famous PCC car went out of production in 1952, few new light rail vehicles have been produced in the U.S. Only Pullman-Standard and Budd survived in the production of heavy rail vehicles. Recent suppliers of rail vehicles have been drawn into the market as a result of the cessation of production for the Vietnam war effort. Boeing Vertol went from building Chinook helicopters to designing streetcars; Rohr indus-

tries converted their jet fighter and missile production to subway car construction for the Bay Area Rapid Transit System (BART).

Although such peacetime conversion is laudable, the direct application of high powered military technology to rail transit has been a disaster. As Massachusetts Bay Transit Administration (MBTA) Operations Director noted, the resulting vehicles were far too complicated for transit use: "They were designed during the time when we all held the view that technology would save us all, so everything was redesigned. Nothing was kept from the old cars, even if it worked." The result has been massive cost overruns and cancelled contracts.

All of the American-owned rail producers—Rohr, Pullman-Standard, and Boeing Vertol—have now gone out of business. The remaining producer, Budd, was recently bought out by Thyssen, the largest West German steel firm. The decline of rail capacity has left commuter systems throughout the country hanging in the wind. Last summer, when rail commuter ridership increased 20 percent, thousands of riders crowded for hours in cars that were an average of 25 years old. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that transit operators had no hopes of finding producers for new commuter cars in time to meet the increased demand.

With synthetic fuels, car reinvention, increased highway construction, and expensive buses serving as the emerging linchpins of national transportation policy, corporate interests are well served, but the policy reflects little appreciation of the past, and no vision of the future.

The mass transit alternatives would be cheap compared to saving our highway system. Pollution would be easier and less costly to control at central electrical rail generating plants. Direct energy costs are less with mass transit and enormous indirect energy savings would be gained through better land use in housing and industry. The social and economic benefits of increased employment, personal mobility, community revitalization, and the time and cost spent in travel are all attainable through mass transit.

But the lead time necessary for developing a new ground transportation industry and constructing a balanced, efficient, and environmentally sound transportation system is rapidly running out. The long-term debts of a transportation system that gave priority to corporate profits are now coming due.

Rob

Continued from page 12.

against the cutbacks.

"There was a grassroots movement to hold onto the trains in most of the states," Webb states.

A national pro-Amtrak lobbying campaign in Washington was spearheaded by the 5,000-member National Association of Railway Passengers and the Railway Labor Executives Association, consisting of the heads of each of the railway unions: most noticeably BRAC, UTU and the International Association of Machinists. The National Council of Older Americans, representing senior citizens groups around the country, also lobbied against the cuts—(elderly passengers are disproportionately frequent riders on the trains, according to the council).

Ultimately what convinced the Carter administration to reduce its potentially devastating cutback plan to 13 percent were events outside the halls of federal power: OPEC's rising oil prices, the "gas shortage" manufactured by U.S. oil companies last spring—"the energy crunch." DOT found itself advocating serious cuts in public transportation just when people are finding it more difficult and expensive to afford their own transportation. One BRAC official recounts, "The energy situation prevented large scale cuts—they were embarrassed to be cutting public transportation at the same time they're calling for energy conservation."

The result of Carter's cutback compromise: more money (for trains and track maintenance) for the Northeast Corridor, and less for train service in the rest of the country. Routes were cut 13 percent nationwide.

Webb comments, "We know the energy crisis isn't over now; there are going to be more peaks in ridership demand. But no one's taking any steps to prepare for that."

Proponents of Amtrak are battling against years of sabotage of the passenger service by the corporations that feel most threatened by cheap mass transit.

Forty years ago the giant of the auto industry, General Motors, laid the groundwork for the subversion of rail rapid transit systems by buying and phasing out urban trolleys and railways—to be replaced by GM diesel buses.

Private rail companies started undercutting their own passenger services in the early 1950s when they figured out there was more money in running freights over their track than passenger trains. "The railroads made a conscious decision to go out of passenger trains, there's no question about it," says Arthur Lloyd. The Interstate Commerce Commission prohibited cutting a train line unless the railroad could show evidence of a substantial decrease in public demand. "So [the private railroads] phased out services, amenities, and let the trains run late, making them as unattractive as they could. Then they would show losses and no public demand, then go to the ICC and take the train off."

Lobbyists for the train, auto and bus industries, Lloyd recalls, prowled the halls of Congress last year to defeat a measure by Representatives Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) and James Florio (D-N.J.) to pass a moratorium on all Amtrak cutbacks for one year. Gore testified that many of the trains slated for elimination showed the greatest ridership increases on the Amtrak system. The bill lost by 17 votes on the House floor. That defeat paved the way for final congressional approval of the Amtrak cuts.

In the same congressional session, President Carter signed the Energy Tax Act of 1978, which relieved the private intercity bus industry (Greyhound, Continental Trailways, etc.) from paying gasoline taxes that contribute to the federal government's highway fund. Carter then proposed an 8 percent increase in the federal support for highway construction and maintenance in 1979; an \$8.6 billion indirect subsidy to the auto, trucking and bus industries.

While condemning government sup-

port of mass transit, the auto industry also obtained for itself one of the largest government subsidies to a private business in U.S. history—\$1.5 billion in loan guarantees to beleaguered Chrysler. If the same standards of "profitability" were applied to Chrysler as have been applied to Amtrak, the corporation would be out of business rather than receiving the equivalent of nearly twice Amtrak's budget in federal financial support.

"People are getting sick from hypothermia in the Northeast this winter because there's a scarcity of heating oil," says Karl Grossenbacher, on the national board of the Grey Panthers. "At the same time they're encouraging people to drive their cars and discouraging them from using the trains."

Amtrak's Lloyd points to the \$2 billion in federal and state money now being spent to build four miles of freeway as part of the New York City's Westway Project. Community activists in New York are organizing around the Westway issue, proposing alternatives to the project that would make use of the money for mass transit purposes—such as improvement of Amtrak's rail service in the area.

"That \$2 billion would run Amtrak for two years," Lloyd exclaims. "But our subsidy sits out in front; you have indirect subsidies for other forms of transportation. We're a nationwide corporation, we're run by the government, so we're targets."

Even the most conservative officials, as well as the General Accounting Office, sense problems with Amtrak's am-

biguous, quasi-public status, and its relationship with the private railroad companies. A GAO report released in 1977 concluded that the private railroads were overcharging Amtrak for crew wages and maintenance services that were often not performed or performed inadequately.

"It's an open secret on the railroad," Webb maintains.

A subsequent GAO report in 1979 calls on Amtrak to tighten up its auditing of the private railroads. The report cites several hundred thousand dollars worth of inventory shortages of government-owned equipment used by the private railroads for operating the passenger service.

A proposal by Citizens for Rail California—composed largely of professionals and businessmen—to minimize such abuses by employing railroad operating crews directly by Amtrak was rejected by the Department of Transportation. The Citizen's Party is the only political party to call for public ownership of Amtrak as part of its platform.

Larry Regan, a west coast director of the Federal Railroad Administration, which helped formulate the Amtrak cutback plan, sees Amtrak as tenuously poised between the private and public sector. "The whole thing would have collapsed if the government hadn't moved in even as much as it did," he notes.

Regan continues. "Railroads are the only public transportation with privately owned right-of-way. Your other modes don't have that—trucks have highways; airspace is regulated by the FAA. The cost of maintaining a right-of-way comes

out in your ticket prices."

The irony in Amtrak's current malaise is that it now pays for right-of-way over land that was generally given to the private railroads in the 19th century to encourage expansion of rail service to the west coast and other parts of the country. Southern Pacific, for example, one of the nation's largest railroads, was given 3.8 million acres in the 1860s and 1870s by the federal government for providing rail service to previously undeveloped areas; and SP is now the largest landowner in California.

The two railroads that built the transcontinental rail link—Southern Pacific and Union Pacific—received from \$16,000 to \$48,000 for every mile of track laid between Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Sacramento, Calif. And Union Pacific was granted 19,000 square miles (including mineral rights) for its work on the transcontinental—a domain larger than the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Vermont combined.

Private railroads are now some of the largest corporations in the country, and dominate the transportation industry. Over the past decade many have diversified into such areas as agriculture, real estate and tobacco; a diversion of resources that critics claim is partly responsible for their faltering train services.

Meanwhile, amid the clamor of a presidential campaign in which discussions of energy rarely go beyond denouncing our dependency on foreign oil, it appears that President Carter's "energy war" is not taking place on the home front. ■

Mark Schapiro works at the Center for Investigative Reporting, Oakland, Calif.

Sue

Continued from page 12.

Board, with a decision expected this spring.

For years Southern Pacific has attempted to scuttle its San Jose to San Francisco commuter train operations, at one point even proposing to purchase vans for commuters who currently use the system. Only determined community action, and last minute intervention by the California Department of Transportation succeeded in saving the commuter service.

At the privates' mercy.

SP is not alone among railroads in its hostility to passenger operations. According to Amtrak spokesmen, both the Missouri Pacific and ConRail rival Southern Pacific in constantly running their freight trains ahead of Amtrak trains. Santa Fe railroad, known as one of the most pro-passenger lines, recently blocked an additional passenger train from being added to its Los Angeles to San Diego corridor. Santa Fe also sidestepped Amtrak requests to shorten the schedule of its San Joaquin Valley trains which would have permitted better connections with other trains on the West Coast.

Amtrak's predicament vis-a-vis the private railroads stems from its hybrid structure mandated by Congress in 1970. The act provides for the establishment of contracts between Amtrak and the privates for the use of tracks and facilities and the provision of services such as maintenance and repair. An Amtrak spokesman in Washington recalls the setting up of the first contracts. "We had a 35-person staff, no legislative guidelines, and 60 days to act. We were under extreme pressure to arrive at contracts quickly."

These contracts are still in effect today, and are heavily weighted in the railroads' favor. Prevented by Congress from assessing penalties against railroads who ran passenger trains late, Amtrak instead opted for incentive contracts with 13 of the 19 operating railroads. These incentive contracts give the railroads additional payments if on-time performance on a specific route exceeds 80 percent in any month. Delays attributed to Amtrak personnel are not counted against the operating railroad, and the on-time measure is simply end point to end point. Because the schedules, set in negotiation with the

privates, are notoriously padded, a train can run late nearly its entire trip but make up time on the last segment, thus entitling the railroad to its incentive payment.

In 1979, Amtrak shelled out \$6.3 million in incentive payments, and over \$2 million to the Southern Pacific alone. In December 1979 the SP ran the Sunset Limited on time only 7.7 percent of its trips, and SP's on-time performance for all trains was only 60.9 percent. Yet SP will still collect payments for the routes that exceed the 80 percent on-time level. System-wide, Amtrak trains on-time record fell from 62.1 percent in 1978 to 57.2 percent in 1979.

Amtrak's weak position in its contractual relationship with the railroads was underscored by a 1979 General Accounting Office report that concluded, "Amtrak does not have adequate assurances that it receives what it orders and pays for, or that its assets are protected and used only for authorized payments." Horror stories abound among railroad employees about over-charging for materials and the "writing off" of labor time performed on freight trains to the passenger ledger. Fully one-third of Amtrak's expenses in 1978 were payments to the private railroads.

Amtrak officials dispute the GAO findings, claiming they were based on outdated data. John Jacobsen told us, "We basically have to trust the railroads to act in good faith. Our only alternative would be to send thousands of observers into the field to stand over their shoulders while they do the work."

The Rail Passenger Service Act subordinates Amtrak to the privates in other areas as well. Three members of Amtrak's board of directors must come from the railroads, which are Amtrak's common stockholders. Numerous provisions of the Act protect the railroads' freight business against Amtrak's right of eminent domain or its ability to establish new trains, make schedule improvements, or secure rights of way.

Don't bite the hand.

Alan Boyd's decision to file suit against the Southern Pacific must be measured in the context of this structural dependence on the privates. The suit will not do much to insure that Amtrak trains show a better on-time performance in the future. Not only is the suit limited to one stretch of one route, but it also does not seek monetary penalties against the SP. It only asks the court to order SP to give passenger trains a clear priority over freight trains. Its only enforcement provision is that SP report all passenger train

delays of over 10 minutes with a full explanation of the cause.

Explaining this cautious approach, Boyd said that "Amtrak and the railroads of this country are in a partnership and partners just don't go around suing each other."

When asked about possible penalties that the court could impose upon the SP, Boyd replied, "We don't want penalties, we just want the railroads to provide the good train service for which we are paying."

For Amtrak the issue is strictly limited to improving performance within the current framework of the Rail Passenger Service Act. "With this suit, you might say we're sending a message to the railroad industry," Boyd explained. "And that message is simple. We are dead serious that the law regarding our operations is upheld in good faith and that we have a cooperative approach to it."

But Boyd did suggest reforms that Amtrak may seek. "We are aggressively pursuing improvements in our contracts with the railroads," he promised. He said that Amtrak will continue purchasing new equipment to replace the antiquated cars and locomotives inherited from the private railroads in 1971. Maintenance procedures will be streamlined, and Boyd said he will establish a Train Performance Unit to monitor railroad performance.

Most important, Boyd said that Amtrak now believes it needs statutory protection of its own and its passengers' interests. He is planning to seek legislative penalties against railroads that cause passenger trains to be late, more authority to set train schedules, better methods for obtaining information about on-time performance (currently Amtrak depends upon the railroads' own reports) and more effective methods for evaluating the efforts of railroads to maintain tracks.

Even these limited attempts to improve service are certain to cause future collisions between Amtrak and the privates. Amtrak remains an orphan doomed to fight and scratch for its survival, while its profitable parents pay only so much child support as imposed upon them by Congress and the courts. The government guaranteed a hand-to-mouth existence for Amtrak when it created a subsidized corporation for the unprofitable portion of the railroad industry and left the profitable portion in the hands of the private lines. ■

Danny Biggs and Joel Parker are co-chairmen of a Railway Clerks Local in Oakland, Calif.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

COMPULSORY MOTHERHOOD

ELIZABETH MOORE'S DISHONESTY regarding abortions and the poor gets more appalling with each statement (*ITT*, Feb. 20). She pretends to represent poor women but in fact is only using them in her crusade against abortion.

If I could fill a room with poor women, each telling her story of why she needs an abortion, Moore would be as deaf to their pleas as she is to those of young girls, raped women, women whose contraceptives failed, or women who for whatever reason simply cannot cope with having a baby. Her answer is always the same: compulsory motherhood.

Income is an important determinant in the decision to have a child, but not the only one. If it were, family size would be proportionate to family income. Some poor women just don't want a child now, even if they were to win first prize in the state lottery.

Of course the poor have fewer choices in housing and other necessities. That is what poverty means and why most of us are working to end it. It does not follow that we should deny to poor women yet another choice, the choice of a safe abortion.

—Jean Peterman
Oak Park, Ill.

THE END RUN

ONE PARAGRAPH WAS UNFORTUNATELY omitted from my report on the "Saving our jobs and communities" conference in Boston (*ITT*, Feb. 19) that puts it in a strategic context:

"In the long term, these efforts to pass plant-closing bills are viewed as interim steps in building conditions that can work out a wide range of issues relating to corporate power. These include labor law reform and repeal of the 'right-to-work' provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, reform of the federal tax code that rewards corporations for relocation, and anti-trust reform that restricts corporate mergers."

State-level plant closing legislation deals with immediate problems, but it is primarily a defensive measure. Strategically, however, they provide a handle for building a broad movement toward a more comprehensive national agenda.

—Peter Deiter
Medford, Mass.

SMUGGLING IGNORANCE

I WAS DISMAYED AND ANGERED in reading James Livingston's review of *Freud for Beginners* (*ITT*, Feb. 6) that *ITT* had once again managed to ignore and thus misrepresent feminist theory and practice. When Livingston says, "Nor do A&Z (the authors) revise or ridicule Freud according to the agreement between conformist psychologists and radical feminists on the allegedly sexist bias of psychoanalysis," he neatly puts radical feminists "in their place" (supporters of the system, of course) and condescends toward all the work produced by feminists in the domain of psychoanalytic theory.

Would Livingston label the contributions of Nancy Chodorow, Dorothy Dinnerstein, Jane Flax, Juliet Mitchell,

Gayle Rubin, and many, many others a "ridiculing" of Freudian theory? Feminists working within the psychoanalytic tradition are concerned with using the methodological insights of Freud, and understanding the construction of gender, one of Freud's central projects. That they chose to extend those insights toward a theory of patriarchal oppression allows them to locate the reproduction of gender inequality deeply within our cultural (and not natural) practices.

By using psychoanalytic theory to examine divisions of labor and power within family relations, they point us toward an understanding of how inequalities in the wider world are intimately transmitted and resisted. Their struggles to use Freud's insights on social relations to which he was blind is part of the movement to appropriate and move forward the very theory Livingston so approvingly discusses.

The point is not either that Freud or the Freudian feminists are "right" but that *ITT* has once again smuggled their ignorance of feminism into print. If you would consider proof-reading your articles for political content rather than simply spelling, you might catch your own blunders before they misinform or anger your readers.

—Rayna Rapp
New York

Editor's Note: In *These Times* publishes a diversity of views on most subjects. We have no correct line on Freud or the uses to which his theories are put. We do not believe in proofreading articles for political content. If we did, most of our authors would stop writing for us.

A REAL ALTERNATIVE

IF JOHN ANDERSON WERE INDEED THE last hope for Democrats who oppose the Carter Doctrine (*ITT*, Feb. 13), it's going to be a long four years. Anderson may be a persistent critic of American militarism, but he has no intention of challenging its causes. The Carter Doctrine is rooted in the very economic system that Anderson, or Kennedy or Brown does not intend to challenge.

But there is an alternative for disaffected Democrats—the Citizens' Party. It makes almost no difference who we elect in November unless that person is ready to challenge the power the corporations exercise over our foreign policy. The Citizens' Party is prepared to do that—Anderson is not.

When the choice in November is Carter vs. Bush or Reagan, what are liberal Democrats going to do? Vote for Carter? Stay home? I'd like to have a chance to vote for what I believe in come November. That's why I'm working with the Citizens' Party—and why you should be too.

—Russell Libby
Gardiner, Maine

JOBS FOR FEW

I WOULD LIKE TO CORRECT SOME ERRORS in John Judis' article (*ITT*, Feb. 6) on the administration's budget. Judis is correct that social spending will go down in real terms. What this means for jobs programs for 1981 deserves some clarification.

The President has recommended, despite his own estimates that unemployment will rise above 7 percent in 1981,

that the current level of 450,000 public service CETA jobs be maintained for 1981. A staffer at the League of Cities and other observers claim that the \$4.6 billion authorized for CETA public service jobs will, because of inflation, fund as few as 350,000 job slots. Even if 450,000 jobs were to be funded, this is woefully inadequate. Each 1 percent jump in the rate of unemployment means about one million more people out of work. There are no provisions in the proposed budget that would enable the CETA system to deal with rising unemployment in 1981. Moreover, the administration has expressed strong opposition to any plan for a countercyclical standby public works program that could be triggered by high unemployment.

As for the Youth Employment Initiative, which the administration claims is "the most comprehensive youth training and employment effort ever accomplished or envisioned," the \$2 billion that the President publicly bandies about is a sophisticated form of shell game. The President is asking for \$1.2 billion for that program for 1981, as Judis explained. Of this money, \$300 million is to be given to the Department of Labor for youth employment programs. The remaining \$900 million,

which Judis wrote would be spent on training, will go to the school system to provide basic skills for teenagers. This is not training money funneled through CETA; it is to be money that goes directly to educational institutions, in an end run around CETA. Of the \$900 million, \$50 million will be spent in 1981 (not 1980, as Judis reports) and the rest will be "forward-funded" for 1982. Of the \$300 million for youth employment programs under CETA, only \$100 million will be spent in 1981. The end result? The creation of about 143,000 new jobs for youth. "Misleading" is probably the kindest word one can use for the President's claims about this program.

Judis correctly pointed out the President's attempts to set up a smokescreen around his budget recommendations and their real meaning. In a year when recession and high unemployment are predicted almost universally, the sight of an axe-wielding Jimmy Carter attacking social programs while claiming to develop significant new initiatives is both sad and frightening. As Ron Delums pointed out (*ITT*, Feb. 13) this is by no means a "prudent and responsible" budget, as the President would like us to believe.

—Richard Kazis
Washington, D.C.

CALENDAR

You and your organization can use the *IN THESE TIMES* calendar to announce upcoming conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. An actual date is required in your announcement. The cost is \$10.00 for two insertions and \$5.00 for each additional insert. Unless it is requested otherwise, the announcement will appear in the two issues immediately prior to the event. Send copy (maximum 40 words) to: Bill Rehm, *IN THESE TIMES*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622.

March 12

Making the Future Work: Lessons from Labor's Past with Fred Thompson, former IWW Northwest Labor Organizer, Spokane Teamsters for a Democratic Union, Seafirst Organizers. Concert by "Utah" Phillips. Sessions at "The Lodge," Spokane Falls Community College. Details from Ryegrass (509) 747-1925.

March 15

The Keystone Alliance is sponsoring a **Teach-in for a Non-nuclear Future** with Barry Commoner and other noted authorities speaking in the morning and 16 workshops in the afternoon. 9:00 to 4:00 at the First Unitarian Church, 2125 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. \$5 admission. Call ahead for child-care. (215) 842-0377.

March 16

There will be a disco benefit at Dingbats, 247 E. Ontario, Chicago, to bolster the defense fund of Keith Dean and Cornelius Harper. Sponsored by the Liberation League and family and friends. 3:00 p.m. Admission is \$3.00. For more information on the case history and the event, call (312) 568-9023.

March 16

Meet the Real Norma Rae! 2-5 p.m. Sunday, garden-party in Los Angeles. Wine, food, music. \$15/person. Fund-raiser for the I.P. Stevens Boycott. Co-sponsored by Screen Actors Guild and L.A. County Federation of Labor. For tickets, information: (213) 749-6161.

March 17

The Columbia/Barnard DSOC and the Columbia Players present **Cambodia**, performed by the Bread and Puppet Theater in collaboration with the NYU Experimental Theater Wing, Columbia University, Ferris Booth Hall, 4th Fl., Monday, 7:00 and 9:30 p.m. Donation requested, proceeds will go to Oxfam Cambodia Relief.

March 20

Michael Klare, director of the Militar-

ium and Disarmament Project at the Institute for Policy Studies, will speak on "**The New Cold War: Domestic and Foreign Implications**," at Midwest Academy, 600 W. Fullerton, Chicago, Ill., at 7:30 p.m. Enter from Geneva Terrace. Admission: \$2.00. For further details, call (312) 975-3670.

March 22

No Registration, No Draft, No Cold War. National march and rally against the draft in Washington, D.C. For more information on how to help organize in your area, or to send needed contributions, contact: Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD), 853 Broadway, Room #851, New York, NY 10003. (212) 260-3270.

March 22

There is a **Citizens Party** rally, featuring Barry Commoner and others, at Thorne Hall, Northwestern University Chicago Campus, 740 N. Lakeshore Drive, 7:30 p.m. Free admission. For more information: call (312) 240-8623.

March 22

The Bailey Alliance is sponsoring **No Nukes Day**, marking the first anniversary of Three Mile Island. There will be all day workshops, dinner and an evening rally featuring Richard Pollack, Kay Pickering and Jerry Gordon. The registration and workshops are from 12:00 to 4:45 at Gary Neighborhood Services Center (Old Miller School), 665 S. Lake St., Gary (Miller section). The dinner is at 5:30 and the rally is at 7:30 at Marquette Park Pavilion on Grand Blvd. For further information or directions, call (219) 843-0105.

March 28-29

Symposium: We Shall Not Be Moved: the historical roots of agrarian protest; Ames, Iowa. Speakers include Fred Stover, H.L. Mitchell, Al Krebs, Helen and Scott Nearing, Donald Grubbs. Information: Agrarian Protest, 2828 Oakland, Ames, Iowa 50050.

March 28-29

Three Mile Island—One Year Later. Examine the dangers of nuclear power with films, speakers, workshops, music and more. Meet activists and experts. Lincoln Park Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill. For more information: (312) 472-2492, 764-5011 or 786-9041. Citizens Against Nuclear Power.

March 30

Harry Boyte speaking on "The Citizen Action Movement in the '80s," will kick off NAM's Second City Socialist School's spring session, featuring courses on political economy; Freud, feminism and socialism; Spanish; and housing organizing. Resurrection Lutheran Church, 3309 Seminary, Chicago, at 7:30. \$2.00 admission. For information call (312) 871-7700.

KATE ELLIS

42nd St. porn shop tour belies simplistic views

THE ISSUE OF PORNOGRAPHY and its relationship to violence against women has been a focus of feminist energy in recent years, and also the focus of a lot of media attention. In New York last September 700 people attended a conference sponsored by

Women Against Pornography, an offshoot of the California-based Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media, whose successful conference a year earlier inspired the New York group. Then, in October, a march on Times Square organized by WAP drew 8,000 participants of all political stripes. And just recently Women Against Violence Against Women, the unofficial parent group of both of these others, reached an agreement with Warner Communications, against which it had been staging a boycott, to tone down violence and female degradation on its album covers. Some women feel exhilarated by this new arena of feminist activity, while others are disturbed by its right-wing support and by its seeming reincarnation of a puritanism that is woven into the history of feminism, and that could serve as a cover for attacks on sexuality that diverge from the norm.

Leaning in the latter direction, yet unwilling to walk away from the question of male violence, I recently went on a tour of the Times Square area organized by WAP. As I walked into its Ninth Avenue and 42nd Street office, donated by a group of realtors who are trying to "clean up" Times Square, I wondered if WAP was against all pornography or just against representations of violence against women, and if the latter, why had they taken the word "violence" out of their east coast name. Later I learned that Con Edison and OTB had contributed more than \$1,000, and that their biggest donor, the League of New York Theater Owners and Producers, had come across with \$10,000. Our tour guide answered my question about the name by saying that the founding sisters felt violence to be included under the word "pornography," but I couldn't help wondering if the theater owners, whose shows are hardly violence-free, might not have pushed the issue. WAP, at any rate, is very unclear about exactly what it opposes. It rebuts the funding question by observing that no one is pure.

Before the tour a slide show is given to prepare viewers for 42nd Street. Its images fall roughly into four categories: mutilation, bondage, kiddie-porn and ads. The show is supposed to upset you, and how can you not be upset by the sight of the bottom half of a woman's body being put through a meat grinder,



or of a woman's nipple squeezed by a pair of pliers, or of a woman's legs extended upwards in a V, upon which a construction worker's jack-hammer bears down, and captioned "A quick cure for frigidity."

But what I had always taken to be the bulk of pornography, namely explicit representation of sexual acts aimed at arousal (and marketed primarily for men) is absent from three of these categories. (It's there in the kiddie porn).



One would have to call the above-mentioned images torture. But I didn't see any of it in the booths and magazines shops I visited after the slide show. I saw lots of bondage magazines, and I would have bought one had they not cost \$4. One that particularly intrigued me, coolly surrounded its shots of couples tying and being tied up with a "historical" account of its subject, that is, bondage in Ancient Egypt, the South Seas, falling Rome, the Middle Ages, and so forth.

But bondage is simulated torture, not the real thing. Its ambiguity was brought out for me by a comment in the magazine with the "historical" article: that black people have up to now been rather repelled by bondage because it reminded

them of their past condition. Now, the writer went on, blacks have happily broken the chains of their nasty racial memories, and are digging this liberated form of sex like everyone else. Whatever relationship this remark may have to reality, there is something complicated going on here, and I feel reluctant, if not downright opposed, to passing judgement on it.

Inside the porn palaces themselves, my strongest feeling was one of intense self-consciousness. One slips into a little booth and, for a quarter, gets to see (through a glass, darkly) an almost naked woman's "privates" at close range, or else a two-minute film strip whose scenario is written on the wall outside each door. The ones I saw consisted of two, three, many blow jobs. After the tour one woman said she hoped to have seen some new things to do in bed, and I confess that I was somewhat shaken to see, in several of the film strip scenarios, my own sexual fantasies, though altered to focus on the man's release rather than on that of the female character I create.

Nevertheless, I cannot say I felt at home on 42nd Street. I felt myself in the presence not of male power (as I do on Wall Street) but of male degradation, and I wanted to get out. In the men, too, I sensed embarrassment behind their annoyance at our presence. Did they think we were looking down on them for their inability to get the real thing? It is said by WAP that all classes of men patronize these places. But what are they offered? A few minutes of voyeurism, a brief feel, if you're lucky, in the live show upstairs. More in the massage parlors, of course, but we didn't go there. This is a multi-billion dollar industry, but the stuff the customer gets is heavily cut with Lysol and not that cheap. Eight segments of a film strip (16 minutes) costs \$2. You can get a whole movie on this same street for not much more.

WAP distorts this pornographic milieu, I think, by casting women in the role of pure victim. I also think that this is the source of its wide appeal: the idea that pornography, like radiation, bombards us constantly, beaming its messages differently to men ("this is what you can get") and women ("this is what you can expect") and making the terrain it invades unsafe for women. Certainly there is truth behind this metaphor. But pornography is something done to women only indirectly, giving men permission (as well as opportunities) to view women as items for their consumption and (WAP would add) as objects for their brutality.

I agree more with the first of these hypotheses than with the second. But I would argue that men view women as consumer goods not because of the porn industry but because of the male position in the sexual marketplace. Similarly, women struggle to perfect their act as objects not because they have OD'd on Clairol commercials but because those commercials speak to their condition as what is to be bought. It may be largely through the media that we learn about this situation, but to say the media created it is to mistake the teacher for the thing taught, the signifier for the signified, the dancer for the dance.

One thing pornography does do, I suspect, is to give men permission to look at images of women coming on to them

sexually, women who are "ready whenever they are," who whisper, "Come here, big boy, I'm just dying to have you," something women are not supposed to say to strangers except on the 42nd Streets of the world. It thus allows a man to do what he is not supposed to do: escape from the pressures of performance, respond rather than initiate, be passive, lay back in his small, smelly stall and let her "wear him out." It also allows maximum ignorance of the female body as a network of erogenous zones. By the time he appears on the scene she is warmed up to the boiling point and ready to masturbate out of desperation: all he needs to do is head for the nearest orifice.

Certainly such fantasies make it difficult for men to relate to women as living bodies, let alone as subjects. This is a built-in problem of fantasy generally, and one that needs serious feminist exploration. But I'm grateful to WAP for giving feminists the chance to go to one of the places from which we can gather and ponder the data from which to draw new theory and new practice for the feminism of the '80s. To do this, however, we must go beyond the oversimplified cause and effect connections that WAP has drawn between media images and anti-social acts. ■

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By Christopher Robbins
G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1979, \$10.95

By Jack Colhoun

Air America by British journalist Christopher Robbins is the story of the CIA's secret airlines. Air America is not only a corporate airline registered in Delaware but also the generic name for the CIA's many airlines, such as Air America, Air Asia, Civil Air Transport, or Southern Air Transport. Air America is the Agency's airborne division of dirty tricks. Robbins writes, "As the CIA developed its paramilitary capability over the years, it created and maintained large commercial proprietary corporations. These CIA proprietaries are business entities, wholly owned by the Agency, which either actually do business or appear to do business as private firms." Air America became the biggest and most significant of these CIA operations.

The origins of the CIA's secret airlines can be traced back to the Flying Tigers, commanded by Claire Lee Chennault, which flew and fought alongside Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, from 1937 until the triumph of the Chinese revolution under Mao Tse-tung in 1949. Once the U.S. entered the Pacific war against Japan in 1942, Chennault was made an Air Force general. After the defeat of the Japanese, the Flying Tigers were renamed CAT, but stayed on, funded by the CIA, to airlift supplies to Chiang's besieged troops. Although most defeated Kuomintang troops were evacuated to Taiwan, some crossed into Burma, where they waged war against the new revolutionary regime in Peking with the CIA's support. On three occasions in the early 1950s, CAT helped launch unsuccessful invasions of the People's Republic of China.

During the Korean War the Civil Air

Transport ran commercial passenger routes between Korea, Japan, Okinawa, and elsewhere; Air America flew commercial flights between cities in South Vietnam during the Vietnam war. In addition to earning healthy profits, used to finance CIA covert actions, the airlines were employed as a cover for Agency activities. A memorandum written by the infamous CIA operative Edward Lansdale describes the airline's role in the Korean war: "CAT...provides air logistical support under commercial cover to most clandestine air operations by providing trained and experienced personnel, procurement of supplies and equipment through overt commercial channels..."

CAT planes were dispatched to Vietnam in late 1953 to airlift French troops to a new base at Dienbienphu. Although the Eisenhower administration chose not to intervene militarily in spring 1954 to save the French colonialists from defeat at the hands of the Vietminh revolutionaries, CAT flew supplies to the beleaguered French. Before the ink was dry on the Geneva Accords of 1954, which negotiated an end to the fighting, CAT was busily transporting arms and equipment to Lansdale's CIA sabotage team in North Vietnam, in violation of the accords.

In the 1960s, Air America ferried CIA mercenaries about Vietnam, evacuated the wounded, and airlifted supplies to the U.S. Marines at Khe Sanh in 1968. Nguyen Van Thieu's political prisoners were routinely flown to their Con Son Island tiger cages by Air America. After the Paris Ceasefire Agreement of 1973, Air America took up the slack caused by the departing American military forces, replacing pilots with "retired" Air Force pilots and young diplomats. In 1973, Air America defense contracts more than doubled to \$41.4 million compared with \$17.7 million in 1972,

as CIA involvement increased.

But Air America really flourished in Laos. For more than a decade, the CIA operated a secret mercenary army in Laos, relying entirely on Air America for logistical support in this unique war. In 1959, the Agency organized Meo tribes to gather intelligence and wage war against the Pathet Lao revolutionaries. Robbins writes, "Air America also provided the air transport for the CIA's recruitment drive as it built up the clandestine CIA army. Operators and Meo officers flew to scattered mountain villages, leaping from peak to peak.... They offered the villagers guns, rice and money in exchange for recruits, and organized landing strips to link the village with CIA headquarters." As the war raged, the Meo were forced from their homes and transformed into permanent refugees, shuttled from one burned-out village to another by Air America, always pawns in the CIA's secret war. Robbins notes by 1968 nearly 600,000 Laotians out of a total population of three million had been made homeless. In the end, the secret army was decimated and lost the war.

Opium smuggling was an integral part of the secret war in Laos. As long as the Meo fought, the Agency ignored the Meo generals' highly lucrative trade in opium. At first the dope was flown out of Laos by Corsican mobsters, but in the mid-1960s, after the Corsicans were muscled out of the trade, Meo generals, most notably Vang Pao, turned to the CIA and Air America to transport the opium. Agency operatives and Air America helped Vang Pao ship the opium, while some moonlighted in the heroin market to supplement their already high incomes. The fact that one of Vang Pao's

heroin factories was next to his military headquarters in Long Tieng, where the CIA maintained a clandestine operations headquarters, underscores the lengths to which the Agency was prepared to go to combat the Indochinese revolutionaries.

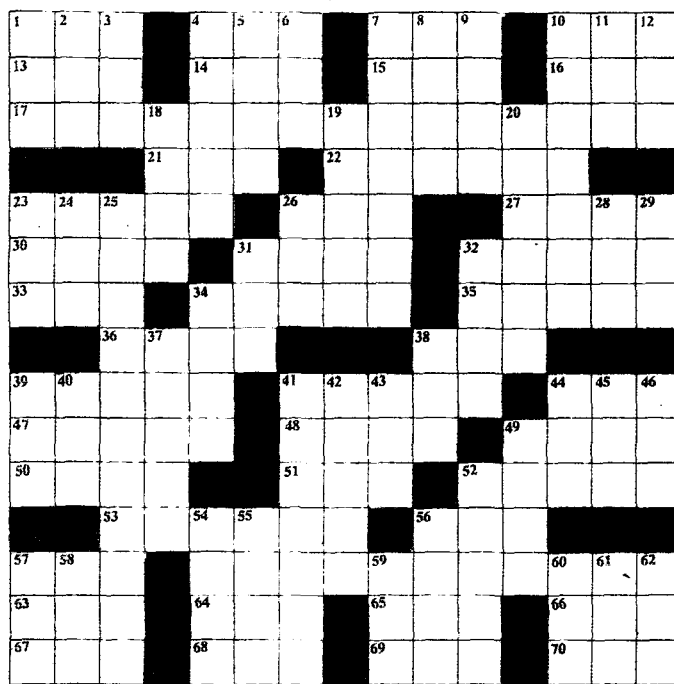
Although *Air America* is a good source of information on CIA operations in Asia, the book is flawed by its lack of an analytical framework and Robbins' open admiration for the pilots. Although he clearly disapproves of many of the CIA operations he describes, he has a soft spot in his heart for the adventure seekers who signed on with Air America. Noting that the pilots were employed in a string of losing causes, Robbins regrets their skill and courage has never been properly acknowledged: "They were to receive no medals for these thankless tasks, which were often too delicate, or simply too dangerous for the military to undertake. Instead, tarred with the tainted brush of the CIA, their very existence has been denied by the government, while their fellow countrymen largely dismiss them as rednecks following a mercenary calling."

Risking their lives was as much a part of their daily routines as their notorious drinking and story swapping sessions in emigre bars in Asia, which Robbins recounts colorfully. But the important question to be asked is for what cause did they voluntarily defy death? U.S. imperialism's insidious attempts to prevent Asia from breaking out of its colonial past. Air America pilots deserve neither medals nor Robbins' apologia.

Jack Colhoun is a historian specializing in post World War II American foreign and military policy. He was an editor of *AMEX-Canada*, formerly published by anti-Vietnam war resisters in Canada.

MELTDOWN

By David Mermelstein



- 18 Sp. river
- 19 Unfettered
- 20 Secular
- 23 Maglie
- 24 Precedes lateral
- 25 Commoner's concern
- 26 Fr. possessive
- 28 Tree
- 29 Ms. workers
- 31 Quotable Chairman
- 32 Phony
- 34 It. family
- 37 Zoroastrian
- 38 Wash. stat. org.
- 39 Concorde
- 40 Parent org.
- 41 Supplied electricity
- 42 Bart or Blenda
- 43 Something cleared
- 45 "... the world's..."
- 46 See 26 Down
- 49 Quart subdivision
- 52 Moved to and from
- 54 Smith
- 55 Fiddler of old
- 56 Call publicly
- 57 Swimsuit part
- 58 Torn
- 59 Head component
- 60 Mining object
- 61 Squeal
- 62 Resort

ACROSS

- 1 "Thing"
- 2 Cinque's org.
- 7 Poet's monogram
- 10 RR abbreviation
- 13 Leary's drug
- 14 Cap
- 15 March
- 16 Williams
- 17 Newsworthy locale
- 21 Wheat, in Nancy
- 22 RN to himself: "It's either me ____"
- 23 Cubic measure
- 26 Mix
- 27 ____ fixe
- 30 Firenze's river
- 31 ____ Verde
- 32 Liquid burn
- 33 Mama, on Broadway
- 34 Artist's need
- 35 Causes hurt
- 36 ____ jure
- 38 Yul, e.g.
- 39 Lean Jack
- 41 The 23rd is famous
- 44 Fr. secret army
- 47 Shopping area
- 48 Elevator man
- 49 Atomic, for one
- 50 Sunbathers delights
- 51 Follows the moral equivalent of
- 52 Uppers
- 53 More nasty
- 56 Peter
- 57 Commoner references
- 63 Part of a sen
- 64 "Sweet ____ the uses..."
- 65 Mature
- 66 Chew the fat
- 67 Appropriate
- 68 Stylish
- 69 Proud or pejorative coloration
- 70 Pan Am abbreviation

- 6 Nice friend
- 7 Type of pollution
- 8 Averred
- 9 Threat word
- 10 John D's Co.
- 11 Number for Ohio State, Purdue, etc.
- 12 Do arithmetic

DOWN

- 1 Dinner order
- 2 Residue
- 3 East Germany
- 4 Monument
- 5 Kind of duck

ALLIANCES

By David Mermelstein



SHUTDOWN!

By David Moberg, In These Times Associate Editor

A REPORT ON SHUTTERED FACTORIES AND SHATTERED COMMUNITIES.

When an important factory or other place of work shuts down, the effect on the workers and on the entire community can be traumatic and catastrophic. These shutdowns also raise important questions about the limitations of a capitalistic economy:

- Is there a more humane way of responding to economic changes?
- Who should decide what is to be produced, how it is to be made and where investments should be located?
- On what basis should these decisions be made?

In SHUTDOWN, David Moberg addresses these questions and offers provocative alternatives to the unnecessary waste of human resources.

SHUTDOWN is a four-part series of articles that originally appeared in the June 1979 issues of IN THESE TIMES, and has been reprinted as a pamphlet. (24 pages/\$1.25 each or 75¢ for orders of ten or more)

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Mass.

Continued from page 3.

firmlly answered challenges from right-to-lifers.

Anderson has also eschewed the usual Republican economic axioms in favor of proposals usually considered only in private conferences among top economists, business leaders and legislators. Instead of trumpeting energy deregulation as a cure-all, Anderson called for strict conservation by means of a 50¢ tax on gasoline to be refunded through a 50 percent reduction in social security taxes.

He acknowledged that the main purpose of budget cuts was to induce business and labor to discipline themselves by example. If inflation persisted, Anderson said he would favor a tax-based incomes policy. At a campaign rally in Beverly, Anderson even introduced Felix Rohatyn's plan for a national economic commission that would set industrial goals: "The Japanese do this," he said, "and they do pretty well."

Anderson has also moved steadily to the left as he has put behind his conservative Rockford, Ill., district and begun

appealing to independent college students. He called for a *de facto* moratorium on nuclear plant construction. He criticized the administration for abandoning its human rights ideals and for diverting itself militarily from its domestic agenda.

"This administration's ideals seem to have crumbled before the onslaught of changing world events," Anderson told a rally in Beverly. "They are retreating into the old idea that only by militarism at home and by encouraging militaristic policies abroad can we solve the problems of an unstable and tormented world. I don't share that philosophy."

Anderson codified this blend of candor and controversy under the slogan "the Anderson difference." Anderson's radio spots reminded voters that "it has become a political tradition in this country to tell people only what they want to hear, to treat voters like children with sugar-coated explanations."

In Massachusetts, the "Anderson difference" worked. United in an appreciation for his seemingly unpolitical behavior, liberal students ignored Anderson's economic conservatism, while Republican moderates tolerated his anti-militarism.

"Out of the Republicans, Anderson is the only one I'd consider for more than 30 seconds," Burt Hodges, a psychology instructor at a North Shore community college, explained. "He's willing to speak his mind. Even if you disagree with him, you have to respect him."

Packaged candidate.

In Massachusetts, George Bush tried to isolate Reagan on the far right. He also tried to correct an impression, created during the New Hampshire primary, that he had no real convictions of his own, but was merely adjusting his image to the nearest constituency.

At a major foreign policy address at Harvard March 2, Bush declared, referring to Reagan's proposals for a hostage deadline and a Cuba blockade, that "we need a leadership for the '80s that understands a foreign policy of deadlines and blockades is irresponsible rhetoric, particularly in a nuclear age."

Bush also insinuated that Reagan would cut social security. "Reagan said the other day that government shouldn't grow at all," Bush told a Brookline audience. "That's impossible. You have to

index social security to keep retirement benefits sound."

While Bush may have distanced himself from Reagan, he failed to counteract the image of insincerity. "Bush is a packaged candidate," Peabody small businessman Richard Curtis said. "I had enough of that with Nixon."

Brookline law student Stephen Peck, a Reagan supporter, voiced a similar concern. "When he first started running, I supported him, but there is something about his personality that gets me nervous. It's like someone pressed a button and wound him up."

The ABC election survey demonstrated how widespread this impression was. Among voters who cited "honesty" as a criterion for choosing a candidate, 48 percent voted for Anderson, 27 percent voted for Reagan, and only 19 percent voted for Bush.

Brokered convention.

The results in Massachusetts have thrown the Republican race into disarray. On the one hand, they suggest that there are now three viable contenders for the Republican nomination. On the other hand, they suggest that there are none.

Anderson: With his showing in Massachusetts and Vermont, Anderson can now raise the money necessary to compete in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Connecticut. But Anderson has not entered any Southern primaries, and he cannot enter the New York primary. Of the remaining primaries he can enter, only nine permit crossover voting by independents. While Anderson's showing in New England demonstrated that he can attract moderate Republicans and liberal independents, it did not demonstrate that he can attract the conservatives who dominate the Republican party in much of the South and West.

One of Anderson's key supporters in Massachusetts, Essex County Sheriff John Buckley, admitted that Anderson cannot hope to win a majority of delegates through the primary process. "It's got to be a brokered convention," Buckley said. "If you get 450 delegates, you're in good shape."

Bush: Bush's narrow win in Massachusetts did stop his downward slide. He remains the most formidable challenger to Reagan, since he is the only candidate capable of attracting moderate and conservative Republican voters. But if Bush

has to compete with Anderson in the major Midwest states, he will also fail to win a majority of delegates—assuming that at best he will break even with Reagan in the South and West. Like Anderson, Bush must also look forward to a brokered convention.

Reagan: The Massachusetts result once again showed Reagan's vulnerability to a Bush challenge; if Bush has regathered his forces, as seemed apparent in Massachusetts, he will be able to prevent Reagan from gaining a majority of delegates.

Of all the candidates, Reagan must depend most on being able to win a first ballot victory. As the defection of the Mississippi delegation in 1976 showed, even Reagan supporters fear their candidate is unelectable; and it is likely some will abandon Reagan for a moderate if the convention deadlocks.

In the case of a brokered convention, Bush, who has accumulated many friends in his Republican career, and former President Gerald Ford, will be the more likely choices.

Safety

Continued from page 7.

ity. Moreover, it put absolutely no obligation on a company to pay a worker for work not done; it simply protected the worker from retaliation.

The Court's unanimous decision to uphold the Labor Department regulation is a victory for common sense over legalistic restrictions that would have undermined fundamental purpose. But one important issue remains unresolved. The Court ordered the withdrawal of the reprimands against Deemer and Cornwell because they signify "discriminatory action," but it chose not to consider the question of backpay. While the 1973 regulation may not obligate employers to pay for work not performed, it is not too difficult to conceive of Deemer and Cornwell's forced lay-off as yet another form of discriminatory action. This issue will be decided in the district court, which will hear the case again in the light of the higher court's ruling.

Robert Howard writes for IN THESE TIMES from Washington.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for their listing.

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1110 6th Street, NW, #300
Washington, DC 20001

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525 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20004

THE CITIZENS PARTY OF ILLINOIS
743 N. Wabash Ave.
Chicago, IL 60611
(312) 280-8623

COALITION FOR A NEW FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

COIN-CONSUMERS OPPOSED TO INFLATION IN THE NECESSITIES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSOC-DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
853 Broadway, Room 617

MIDWEST ACADEMY
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

NATIONAL CENTER FOR ECOOMIC ALTERNATIVES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM-NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

NEW PATRIOT ALLIANCE
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.
Suite 325
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Milwaukee, WI 53203

WORKING WOMEN
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Cleveland, OH 44111

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RADIATION



Middletown residents at a public hearing immediately after the accident expressed fears about the effect on themselves and their children. Below, Ernest Sternglass, M.D.

The Three Mile Island fallout



One year after the accident, a sharp rise in hypothyroidism has shown up in newborn infants in the area around Middletown.

By Ernest Sternglass

PENNSYLVANIA STATE HEALTH authorities confirmed last week that a sharp rise of hypothyroidism in newborn infants occurred in late 1979, in three counties near the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, site of a critical accident in early 1979.

The high incidence of this condition, which leads to mental retardation and stunted growth, has been dismissed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission as unrelated to the low level radiation released in the accident. Neither has the Commission commented on a near doubling of the infant mortality rate in Pennsylvania several months after Three Mile Island.

The denial of a causal relationship between the radiation and the disease is to be expected, given the NRC's (and the earlier Atomic Energy Commission's) record of reassuring the public on the relative safety of low level radiation. Yet the recent Pennsylvania report adds one more document to evidence that has been mounting for nearly 20 years that even

officially "safe" levels of radiation pose serious threats to the mental and physical health of not only the living, but the unborn.

Retardation.

The controversy lies in how much radiation can be tolerated without inflicting thyroid disease in fetuses, which are exposed to radioactive elements while in the womb. In sufficient dose, Iodine 131 and other radioactive particles can impair the development and functioning of the hormone-producing thyroid and pituitary glands which regulate growth and mental development.

Direct evidence of radiation's effect on growth was dramatically documented by a United Nations scientific committee in 1969, which measured physical and mental development among persons born within months of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was also confirmed in studies of the Marshallese Islanders who were exposed to fallout from a large 1954 nuclear bomb test in the Pacific Ocean.

Although AEC officials initially claimed there would be no adverse health effects to the people of Rongelap Island, later AEC studies revealed that virtually all the children developed thyroid nodules or cancer many years later. Also, long before their cancer was detected, many children experienced hypothyroidism and severe growth retardation.

As early as 1962, more evidence was accumulated by a White House panel of radiation officials pointing to a potential link between the fallout from nuclear weapons tests in Nevada and local increases in leukemia and thyroid cancer.

That link was confirmed in a 1965 study directed by Dr. Edward Weiss of the U.S. Public Health Service. However, the data was officially hushed up by the Public Health Service, the Defense Department and the AEC, and came to light only last year by virtue of a Freedom of Information request by the *Washington Post*.

Nuclear testing.

A later analysis of the bomb testing effects in Utah, conducted by this writer, found a general rise in the rate of infant mortalities and infant immaturity during the 1950s which reversed a previous long-term trend of declining infant deaths and increasing birth weights. This reversal was greatest in areas nearest the nuclear

testing, and during the years of the greatest fallout, 1956-57.

Added evidence came to light even more recently when it was found that children born in Utah during the years of the most intense bomb testing in neighboring Nevada showed a precipitous drop in their college entrance Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) taken upon graduation in 1975—18 years after they had

been exposed to fallout while in their mothers' wombs.

Indeed, the sharp decline in SAT scores in the mid-1970s tended to be nationwide, but most acute in Utah where it dropped 26 points. Ohio, which lies outside the drift of radiation clouds from the Utah tests, registered only a two point drop.

At the time of the worst national SAT decline (it has since leveled off to modest annual fluctuations), educators tended to blame a host of variables, including urban unrest, TV, collapsing school standards, broken homes and an urban influx of foreigners who were poor and ill-equipped to compete in U.S. schools. Such variables no doubt accounted for some of the decline in the urban schools in the East and Midwest. But they do not account for the state showing the sharpest drop—Utah—which was not heavily urbanized and which, thanks to Mormon tradition, maintained an excellent education system which had produced among the highest SAT scores in the country before the mid-1970s.

While still other, as yet unknown, variables may have contributed to the decline of educational aptitude in Utah, the evidence to date points to a more-than-suggestive correlation between nuclear fallout and mental development.

The SAT evidence, while it requires further study, should at least prompt great public and official concern over the relationship between hypothyroidism and even low levels of radiation. Instead, when four times as many infants as normal are born with the disease in the vicinity of the Three Mile Island accident, NRC officials can only reassure the public once again of the safety of nuclear power.

To admit anything more, of course, would be to acknowledge the possibility that nuclear power is a threat to the creative, intellectual and leadership potential of an entire generation.

©Pacific News Service

Ernest Sternglass, who has studied the health effects of radiation for many years, is a professor of radiological physics at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine and author of *Low-level Radiation*.

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ART & ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Lots of trees,
but no forest

Vida

By Marge Piercy
Summit Books, \$12.95

By Laura Shapiro

When the heroine gets her period on page two, changes a Tampax on page three, argues with an idiot male about violence against women on page five, feels very close to her mother on page seven and remembers miniskirts with strictly political amazement on page ten, you can be sure you're in the presence of a novel with its consciousness raised. In fact, looking over Marge Piercy's saga of a woman living underground as a fugitive revolutionary, I can't think of anything that's been left out. There's an open marriage, lots of cheerful bisexuality, men who are piggy but have potential, women who are tough-minded and run their own lives, and a complete sociopolitical history of young America in the '60s. If I had to pick a representative American document to be placed in a time capsule, *Vida* might well be my choice—not for its art, but for its comprehensiveness.

Beautiful, smart, loving, and red-headed, Vida Asch lives with a motley crowd of creeps and revolutionaries during the '60s, feverishly organizing against the war, until an agent infiltrates the group and helps them plan a bombing. In the ensuing bust, some of them are arrested and the others go underground, linking up with more fugitives.

As the years pass, Vida changes her name and hair color frequently, becomes an expert at quick disguise, learns to sniff out an agent or a police trap, and dreams up elaborate schedules for communicating with people using mail drops and pay phone. Her underground comrades are called the Network, and they carry out various political activities on the run, writing manifestoes and position papers as they go. Vida becomes a feminist and then gets interested in the anti-nuclear movement, but the real thread of the story is her love affair with Joel, a draft dodger who's several years younger than she is.

Detail.

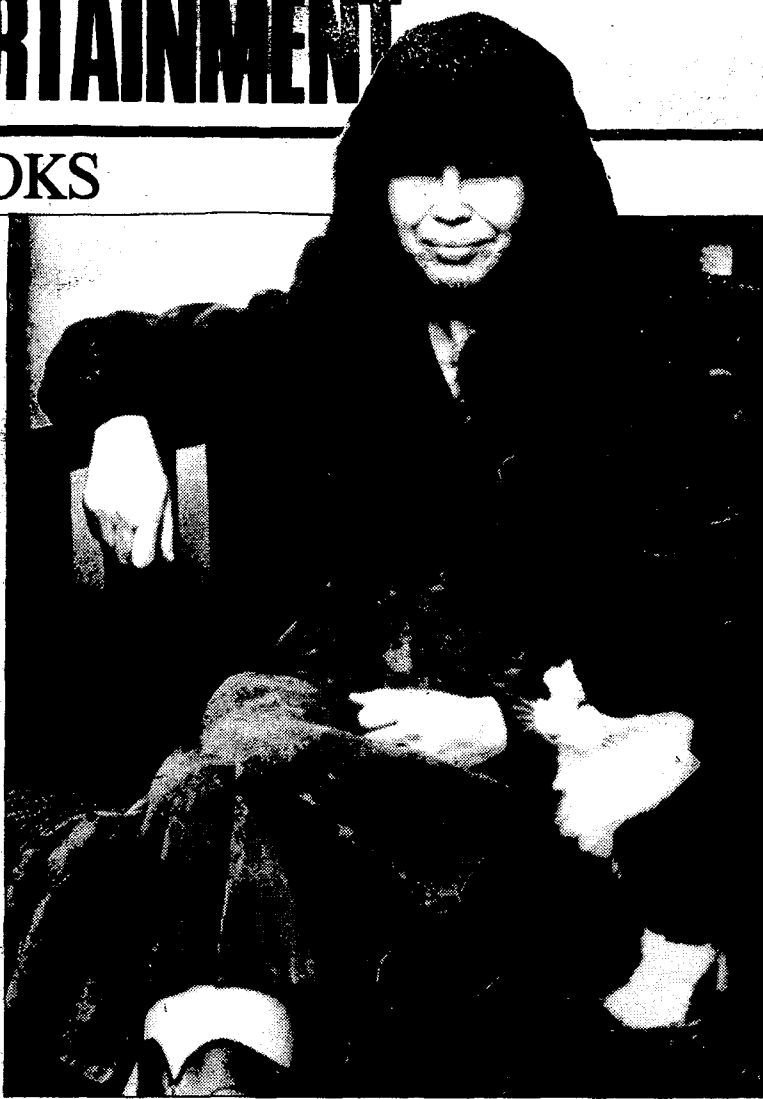
For all its heady passions, its dangers and quick-witted decisions, its hotly entangled relationships, *Vida* unfolds at an even pace and makes curiously flat reading. A calm, almost placid voice recites each occurrence, some in the present and some in flashbacks. Although an enormous quantity of life is described, nothing takes on its own vitality or speaks with its own voice. The chief problem, and its also Piercy's chief technique, is that everything, but everything, is recorded here—not just the details that identify a feminist perspective or convey a scene, but painstakingly exact descriptions of clothing, landscape, conversation, furniture, geo-

graphy, psychology, physiognomy:

They met Eva in a Howard Johnson's on the edge of town. As they walked in, she saw Eva at the counter, her black braids hanging straight down her back. Eva's old shearling coat was hung over the back of the stool so that the curly side showed. She wore a faded red shirt, jeans and high-heeled Western boots. When Eva saw them and passed to the cashier to pay and leave, she was taller than either of them by two inches of her own and two of the boot heels. As she walked by, one eyelid almost fluttered, a ghostly wink. Vida ordered an orange juice to go; Joel got a mocha chip ice cream cone. Then they strolled back to their car.

Whether it's a major confrontation with a lover, or a passing glance out the car window, Vida's experiences all possess a similar weight, and they're all described right down to the frayed edges of the tablecloth and the dribbles of coffee on the thermos.

Piercy's fondness for descriptions of food, for instance, means that she won't let a mealtime pass without notice. A thoroughly inconsequential woman offers Vida a place to stay one night and then disappears from the book, but not before Vida dines with her on baked bass, bulgur, a green salad, and apple juice. It's life, all right; it's even interesting. But a well-placed pot roast or a cozy English muffin will go a long way, as readers who still feel



Marge Piercy's new novel is terrific journalism, but the meaning of it all gets lost.

quite full from the meals ingested with Erica Jong and Kate Millett may agree.

Piercy is so committed to telling us everything that before long she stops us from wanting to know and, finally, from caring. In terms of style, much of *Vida* is terrific journalism. Yet the very exactitude of the chronicle acts to shut out the reader of fiction. Piercy has endowed her heroine with a wide range of talents and sensitivities, and we dutifully learn her every daydream, weakness, lie, commitment, doubt, memory and longing. But despite this mass of

data, the woman never emerges from the page and gets a grip on our imagination. In fact, Piercy's method has obliterated the need for our imagination, for our participation in the work.

Vida does learn things, does change, in the course of the novel; but those crucial moments of insight, awareness and transformation appear to be the most difficult for Piercy to handle. She doesn't seem to have the language at her command that can coalesce around a discovery or a truth without sounding laborious or artificially "poetic." I find the same problem in her

poetry. It's laden with passion, but a passion for the obvious.

Virtue and vulnerability.

In a prepublication rave about *Vida*, Marilyn French, author of *The Women's Room*, asserts that "it is a wonderful book; it may be a great one." Prepublication raves ought not to be leaned upon too heavily, but it is possible to see the portrait of liberated women in *Vida* as a kind of happy ending to all the agony and torment in *The Women's Room*.

In *Vida* the women chafe somewhat at sexism within the antiwar movement but make the transition to feminism without much strain—the main housewife figure is a jolly, intelligent sort who becomes a lesbian. As the political fugitives pursue the revolution from their underground posts, men and women continue to work and sleep together—indeed, the national dearth of nice, nonsexist men doesn't appear to be half so serious underground as it is up here. If French's subject was the pure anger in feminism, Piercy's is the process of living as a feminist and the possibilities therein.

As the image of a liberated woman, then, *Vida* encompasses every virtue and vulnerability that the women's movement has identified in the last ten years. Considering the failure of more distinguished writers than Piercy to come up with an attractive, believable feminist woman, this portrayal is definitely an achievement, though perhaps an intellectual more than a literary one.

At the same time, though, the portrait we piece together of Vida's life and self looks very much like one of those insanely complicated jigsaw puzzles of a medieval tapestry. Piercy's dogged pursuit of every squiggle in *Vida* means that she does approach a certain vast truth about women and feminism and the times we live in. The process of fitting it all together, however, flattens and dulls her giant image.

Laura Shapiro wrote a column on women's issues for several years in *The Real Paper*, in which this review first appeared in longer form.

RECORDS

The 60s in song is dead, except for Paxton

By Emily Friedman

People these days have a habit of shedding the appropriately ritual tear for the 1960s. In the area of topical song, it's fashionable to lay the 1960s writers to rest. Unfortunately, that's fairly easy to do. Phil Ochs is dead; Bob Dylan has turned to a more internal, personalized type of song; Eric Anderson is working in the rock'n'roll idiom (and very well, I might add).

But one of the greatest songwriters who came to light in the 1960s somehow seems reluctant to come to the funeral. Tom Paxton, author of "The Last Thing on My Mind," "Talking Ho Chi Minh Blues," "Lyndon Johnson Told the Nation," "What Did You Learn in School

Today?" and hundreds of other great songs about the events and people of our time, is still alive and writing marvelous songs about what's going on today.

In a few months Tom will celebrate the 20th anniversary of his first topical songs. All along the way, he has sung what he thought and has turned the daily news into poetry.

"I haven't had any commercial success with it, and I think that's why other people have stopped doing it," Paxton said recently at a party celebrating release of his latest album, *Up & Up* (Mountain Railroad). "I make a living with it, and that's all. I would love to sell six million copies of this album; after all, it's my album. But I don't want to write songs for any reason other than the reason I've always written songs."

To look at Paxton's body of work is to look into the heart of the last two decades. He started writing songs about Vietnam long before it was popular to do so. "Lyndon Johnson Told the Nation" was a pleasant little ditty about how much of a liar the president was; "Talking Ho Chi

His records don't sell millions, but his songs pierce the heart of the last two decades.

Minh Blues" was a half-humorous, half-serious song about a non-military encounter between U.S. troops and National Liberation Front troops, who found that smoking dope together was more productive than killing each other. Later, there were devastating classics about the war's aftermath. One was "Born on the Fourth of July," a musical capsulation of the story of Ron Kovic, who was so hot about being a Marine that he did two tours in Vietnam, ending up a paraplegic and wondering why he had bothered.

Paxton is virtually the only songwriter on the scene who didn't automatically issue a blanket condemnation of the men who fought, died, and were maimed in Vietnam. And he could see another side, too, in "I Don't Want Your Pardon,"

a biting piece about Gerald Ford's offer of amnesty to Vietnam war draft resisters. All you had to do was admit that you were wrong, Ford said.

Vietnam was something he had a piece to say about; but so were many other things, including the carnage in Chile. While Henry Kissinger was gleefully accepting his Nobel Peace Prize (and while many of us reeled in horror at the thought), Tom Paxton was writing:

*But the white bones of Allende
And the scattered bones of
Chile
Are the scream that breaks the
silence
Of the thousands blown away;
Oh, the white bones of Allende
And the scattered bones of
Chile*

Continued on next page.

Short Notice



Lorraine Hansberry.

Freedomways: Lorraine Hansberry, (special issue, vol. 19, no. 4) Freedomways Associates, 799 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, \$2.50

More than 20 writers, scholars and dramatists have contributed to this multi-faceted appraisal of Lorraine Hansberry (1930-1965), the first black woman to have a play produced on Broadway. Several selections discuss her most famous work, *A Raisin in the Sun*, which won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award and which has been translated into 30 languages; but a unique feature of this collection is the special attention devoted to lesser-known works such as *Les Blancs*, her last collection of plays, and *To Be Young, Gifted and Black*, her autobiography. Many of the essays, memoirs and tributes are sensitive to the relation of Hansberry's writing to the burgeoning black liberation and feminist

movements of the 1960s, and contributors include Lerone Bennett, Jr., Adrienne Rich, James Baldwin, Alex Haley and Nikki Giovanni. **AW**

Communications Perspectives

A quarterly newsletter ICR, 222B Armory Bldg., University of Illinois, Champaign, IL 61820, \$3/year. A newsletter of mass communications research that includes announcements of events and conferences, short reviews of articles, books and journals and names and addresses of researchers with descriptions of current research. Concerned with social analysis of the most influential media of our time, this newsletter is of more than academic interest. **PA**

The American Vein: Directors and Directions in Television

By Christopher Wicking and Tise Vahimagi, Dutton, \$6.95. The authors emulate film auteurs in their guide to the TV careers of hundreds of directors and producers (and, in one section, actors who became producers or directors). The 260-page information-packed guide reminds us how informal and partial our secondhand knowledge of TV history is. The short biographical sketches call for further research. **PA**

Hucksters in the Classroom: A Review of Industry Propaganda in Schools

By Sheila Harty. Center for the Study of Responsive Law, P.O. Box 19367, Washington, DC 20036, \$10 for individuals; \$20 for industry. Report of a three-year Ralph Nader research study. After reviewing the diversity of corporate advertising disguised as educational materials being used in schools today, the book analyzes the role of the FTC in monitoring "educational" propaganda, the possibility of industry self-regulation and citizen initiatives. **PA**



Steve Kagan

of the Child. Tom is the proud, loving father of Jennifer and Katie Paxton, and the proud, loving husband of Midge Paxton after some 16 years of marriage, and children are among his special friends. To starve a child—Cambodian, Hungarian, American, or any child—for profit is one of the worst crimes, according to Paxton.

*The mothers weep, and the children cry,
The people sleep, and the children die.
How many more must die tonight*

*'Til the price is right?
(Feed the Children)*

My favorite Paxton song isn't "Last Thing on My Mind." It is, rather, a relatively obscure piece, "Don't You Let Nobody Turn You 'Round," that cuts across all of the issues and single moments to state a higher goal—have faith in what you believe.

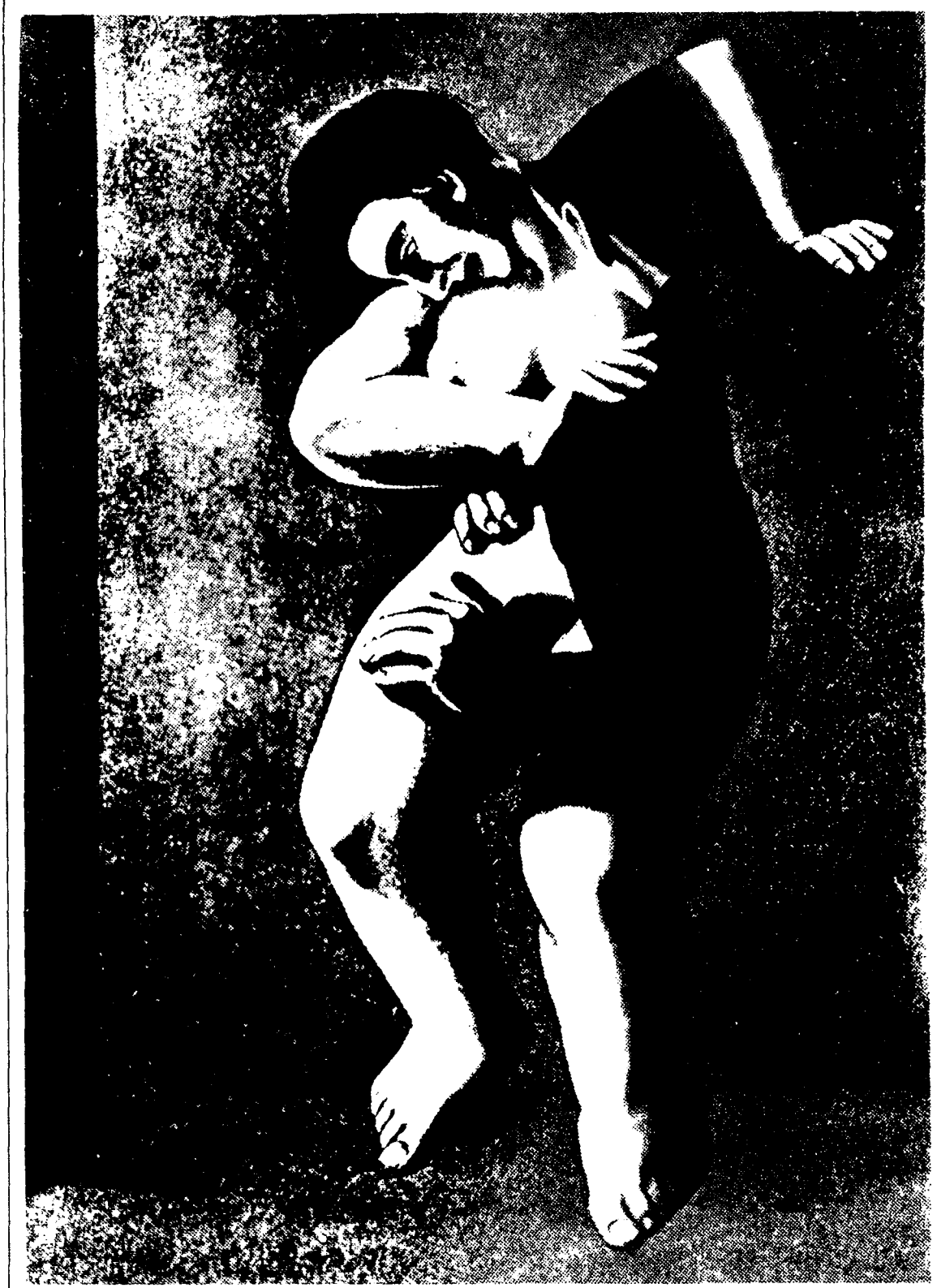
It's a long, long journey to your home,

Where your own truth is waiting to be found;

And though others would tie you, and try to buy you,

Don't you let nobody turn you 'round.

Paxton's songs do not spring from a set ideology. He views things "on a case-by-case basis," as he puts it. He also tries, whenever he can, to treat his subjects with humor. He has a new song



Rene Magritte

An illustration from a chapter on violence against women in *THE WOMEN SAY/THE MEN SAY*.

The Women Say/The Men Say: Women's Liberation and Men's Consciousness

Editors, Evelyn Shapiro and Barry M. Shapiro. Delta, \$8.95

A well-produced, tightly edited, addictive collection of journalism, position papers and poems

from the last decade-plus of the women's movement. Categories in which the editors collected articles include "Wage Work and Family Work," "Sexuality and Power," "Indignities and Resistance" and "Critiques, Vision and Overviews." A readable teaching tool and a thoughtful sampler on recent history. **PA**

Union Town: A Labor History Guide to Detroit

By Workers Education Local 189 Labor History Task Force. P.O. Box 758, Detroit, MI 49231, \$2.45

If you live in Detroit or if you ever visit, be sure to get a copy of this 32-page pamphlet that briefly describes Detroit's history, especially in terms of labor's historic struggles, and offers three guided tours to Downtown, East Side and Hamtramck, and the West Side and Dearborn. No side trips to Renaissance Center here, but you will be steered to Grand Circus Park, an ethnic, labor and left meeting area in the '20s and '30s, a former Workmen's Coop Restaurant in Hamtramck, Finn Hall and dozens of factories whose stories are told in the text. **DM**

The Rights of Union Members

By Clyde W. Summers and Robert J. Rabin. Avon, \$2.25

The latest in a series of American Civil Liberties Union Handbooks—which define the rights, among others, of aliens, ex-offenders, gays, mental patients, the poor, reporters, teachers, women and young people in other volumes—this compact question-and-answer guide to rights of members within their unions is clear and easy to follow. The

emphasis is on individual rights, including the right not to be a union member, but the authors are basically sympathetic to unions. It is well worth wide dissemination in the labor movement. But it would also be great—and far more important—if the ACLU would prepare a handbook of the rights of workers in dealing with their private employers. So far only Staughton Lynd, with his little but potent *Labor Law for the Rank and File* (Singlejack Books, P.O. Box 1906A, San Pedro, CA 90733, \$1.50) has offered such help. Benson's guide offers more than this ACLU handbook, but the ACLU's effort is probably more accessible for the average union member. **DM**

Democratic Rights for Union Members: A Guide to Internal Union Democracy

By H.W. Benson. Association for Union Democracy, 215 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003, \$4.75. This comprehensive, 245-page guide to union members' rights is more than a compilation of relevant law. It is a guide for taking action and persevering in the face of obstacles that are also discussed. It is essential for any union activist. It is also interesting for anyone concerned with the labor movement, for in addition to the guidebook there is a valuable history of some recent episodes in the battle against corruption and for internal democracy within unions. It is strongly pro-union and stresses collective action even as it notes individual rights. **DM**

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, David Moberg, Alan Wald.

Continued from page 20.

*Are not silent; they are screaming,
They're your Peace Prize,
Dr. K.*

(Henry Kissinger's Peace Prize)

He is still writing brilliant songs. It's not just the powerful lyrics. It's great tunes, singable choruses, and a convincing delivery. On *Up & Up*, for example, he sings a song he wrote in 1979 for the International Year

Edgar

Continued from page 24.

fine people's vision of the situation for a short period of time. I say "for a short period" because shortly afterwards a great deal of publicity developed in all the media.

Here is where I would part company with people who say that working in the conventional bourgeois theater has no effect. There is no question that of all my plays, *Destiny* is the one that has had the most direct effect on public discourse. The effect was above and beyond those who saw it at the theater and those who saw it on TV. After having worked in political theater for years, doing shows out of the backs of vans, I found that within three days of *Destiny's* opening in London I was called by three or four leading socialist journals, to write for them. I was invited to speak at meetings. On one occasion someone got up at a meeting and asked, "What effect did *Destiny* have when it was shown on TV? My answer was, "You invited me here. That was the effect."

Look at the effect that Orwell's 1984 had on the world. It added concepts to the political

vocabulary by adding words to the artistic vocabulary. "1984," "Big Brother," "Double think"—all those ideas have defined experience and have had an influence way above and beyond anybody who has ever read the book or heard of George Orwell.

It is sometimes said that the new political theater merely preaches to the converted.

The theater has always had a celebratory role as well as a challenging role. Preaching to the converted becomes a problem only if you have a very narrow definition of the word "preach." If plays confirm and celebrate values that are adversary to dominant culture, then theater plays an important role in confirming and sustaining people who might otherwise feel isolated and depressed.

It is important to have a culture of our own that is internally critical, internally challenging. We can write plays for each other that can question things that go unquestioned in the normal political realm.

What is interesting about modern British political theater is its formal conservatism. There has not been anything like the leap forward in terms of form that occurred with Brecht or with authors like Peter Handke in Germany. One reason is that British theater has tended to be more receptive to its

young Turks than the other theaters.

I have argued that British playwrights have developed a way of using existing dramatic forms and deliberately and consciously subverting them. I would compare this to the tactics of the Situationists—of which the Yippies were an American variant—who believed in consciously disrupting what they call "the spectacle of consumer society." Brenton and Hare's *Brassneck*, for example is a play about a family. It has a very hoary old model for a plot—a story about three generations of a family. The difference is that in their version all the characters are contemptible, and the relationships between the generations are expressed not in domestic matters but in their different attitudes toward the accumulation of capital. Such plays look much more conservative formally than they are in fact.

Labels are invidious, but I think we're writing social realist plays. That means they're not agit-prop and not naturalism. I have been trying to write documentary plays that don't involve documents. *Destiny* is based on a vast amount of research and is extremely accurate in every respect but one—none of the characters in the play are real.

When I was commissioned to

adapt *Mary Barnes* (a play about schizophrenia and R.D. Laing's psychiatry), a friend asked, "Why in the world do you want to do this?" I said, "Why would socialism make human experiences irrelevant to its discourse?" Indeed certain subjects, such as the love affairs of the middle classes, are less relevant to the future of mankind than some playwrights appear to think them. But I don't think schizophrenia is equivalent to that. I wanted to write about the late '60s, and about psychiatry and about personal life. Doing the *Mary Barnes* adaptation gave me an opportunity to do this.

You are currently adapting Dickens' novel, NICHOLAS NICHOLBY, for the Royal Shakespeare Company.

I became interested in adaptation as an art form after *Mary Barnes*. Having done that autobiographical adaptation, I was very excited by the prospect of adapting a literary work. There is an extent to which great literary works become myths. Somewhat like Shakespeare and Brecht, Dickens has taken on a nature beyond—in addition to—his actual writing. At the RSC we [director Trevor Nunn and the Company] are trying to represent the whole of the Dickens novel, which means it will be six hours long (two evenings) on stage. We're not going

to cut subplots, as adaptations usually do. People will see that the book is about money, for example; the financial plot in Dickens' novels is usually the first to be cut.

Our adaptation will be critical in seeing the book as representative of the culture of an important era in British history. The 1830s were a time of great expansion and exploration, when British capitalism was developing into the state we know today. We will be looking critically at the assumptions of the novel. We are, for example, trying to examine Dickens' attitude toward women, as opposed to Nicholby's attitude to the women who fall in love with him, or with whom he falls in love.

We've been reading and rereading a wonderful essay on Dickens by George Orwell. Orwell argues that what Dickens wanted was capitalism with a feudal face. And in a funny kind of way, I think Dickens is aware of the contradictions of his own position. Where you find that conflict at its most painful is where you find the great moments of the novel. One of the interesting things about any work of art is what it tells you about the person who wrote it.

Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama, where he is also the editor of Theater magazine.

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Mary Barnes, played by Eileen Atkins, and her doctor (David Spielberg) go through the initial steps of her regression to infancy as treatment for madness in David Edgar's play *MARY BARNES*.

Over the past decade a number of young playwrights committed to socialism have risen to prominence in England. They began by writing for small, politically committed theater collectives such as the General Will, the Joint Stock Company, and 7:84. (The last of these names refers to the fact that 7 percent of England's population owns 84 percent of the wealth.) Their ensembles travelled around the country, performing at colleges, pubs and union halls. More recently, plays by these writers—Howard Brenton, Snoo Wilson, Caryl Churchill, Trevor Griffiths and David Edgar—have been staged by the Royal Shakespeare Company and the National Theatre of Great Britain.

David Edgar, born in 1948 in Birmingham, has written over 30 plays for companies such as 7:84, the General Will, and the new feminist-socialist collective, Monstrous Regiment. His anti-fascist play, *DESTINY*, which documents the origins of the National Front movement in England, was televised nationally after its 1976 staging by the Royal Shakespeare Company.

While *DESTINY* has yet to be staged in America, two other plays by Edgar, *THE JAIL DIARY OF ALBIE SACHS* and *MARY BARNES*, recently opened in New York and New Haven, respectively. Each of these plays is an adaptation of autobiographical journals. Albie Sachs, a white South African lawyer, was imprisoned for months without trial under Pretoria's "90-day law." Mary Barnes, a once schizophrenic woman, benefitted from residence in a Laingian communal clinic.

Few American plays express the commitment to socialism evident in your work. How do you account for the difference?

Socialism is on the political agenda in England and in Europe, and we have major socialist political parties. I think the existence of the class system is more obvious in England.

A second reason is that England is a declining country, and questions of alternatives to the present method of operating are more acute and direct than they are in a country that is still relatively successful.

But England has developed audiences, actors and directors as well as writers receptive to politically conscious theater.

Yes, I think there is a movement. Most of the 20 or so dramatists who write such political work know one another, see each other regularly and discuss each other's work. Our country is smaller, and in that sense the theater is smaller. Our work tends to develop symbiotically. I certainly learned from the work of people like Howard Brenton, Trevor Griffiths, John McGrath, David Hare, and, in a slightly different way, from Edward Bond and John Osborne.

Also, because there is no British film industry to speak of, the left energy that goes into film in the U.S. goes into theater or television in Britain. I would think that the effect theater is beginning to have in England, in terms of intervening in the political discourse, could be compared with the influence of the recent American films reassessing America's role in Vietnam.

You've only recently had your plays seen by American audiences. Are they

Theatre of PUBLIC LIFE



An interview with English socialist playwright David Edgar

By Joel Schechter

culturally transferable? One American critic, Richard Gilman, recently wrote about "provincial London," suggesting that new British plays describe their country's life in such detail they may not appeal to audiences in other locations.

My instinctive nationalistic reaction is to say that Britons and Europeans have learned to relate to American products because we have had no choice in the matter, and that in fact *Kojack* is pretty provincial.

I think one of the significant developments in the last ten years has been that of the theater of public life. There has been development of the idea that public life, work, meetings, political activity, all those things that don't occur in homes, are important subjects for the theater.

Historically one of the great functions of the theater has been not only to extend people's experience of the private world but also to extend their experience of the public world—the great Greek

dramas, the history plays of Shakespeare, most of European theater through Ibsen was a public theater.

One of the reasons Watergate happened, I think, is that people were absolutely fascinated by the revelations of the way public life operates. That unique document—the White House tapes—portrays a character who will never be repeated. Nobody will ever be stupid enough not to burn the tapes. I read the transcripts many times, and I wrote a play based on them.

Were *MARY BARNES* and *THE JAIL DIARY* the first of your plays staged in America because their concerns are more private than, say, *DESTINY*?

Yes, almost certainly. I would very much like *Destiny* to be done here as well, partly because the other two plays are adaptations, and partly because *Destiny* is a better play, and is more central to what I've been trying to do.

I have discussed the play with Gordon Davidson [director of the Mark Taper

Forum Theatre in Los Angeles]. My feeling is that racial politics are defined by immigration in Los Angeles somewhat as they are in the British setting of *Destiny*. The extreme right in England is more similar to the extreme right in California than it is to East Coast conservatism.

In *Destiny* I got increasingly fascinated by the dynamics of meetings, the way people come together to decide things. Those decisions do not always get made on the basis of a logical addition of individual views. All kinds of things like rhetoric, accident and relative competence enter into it.

There is a scene in *Destiny*, one of the meeting scenes, in which a group of people get together in a small, racist organization to decide whether to join Nation Forward—to decide whether to become a branch of this national racist party. If you read the scene you'll see it is very mechanically constructed. Each of the characters is representative of a traditional social base group of fascism.

There's a young worker, the older worker in a declining industry, the middle-class lady on a fixed income eroded by inflation, the wife of a white collar technical worker, a shopkeeper who has lost his business. All those classic figures and their concerns are brought together by the representative of the national racist party, whose speech draws their very contradictory resentments and fears into one package—which resembles the way Hitler rose to power and has been a classic ideology ever since.

When the scene is staged, though, you become emotionally involved, you become concerned, you go along with these people and then ask, "My God, what am I being forced to think?"

You've discussed a public role theater can play in changing society or consciousness, in the Brechtian tradition. Your early plays aimed at changing political consciousness. Do you still feel that theater can play this role?

I used to believe that one of the functions of theater was to provoke direct political action. One example is a play I wrote called, *Rent*; or, *Caught in the Act*. It was a Victorian melodrama spoof about a specific piece of legislation passed by the Conservative government in 1971 to raise the rents of publicly owned housing and to end various restrictions on landlords.

The play was performed for tenants, as a way of organizing them to oppose that act of Parliament, and to encourage local councils to refuse to implement the law. It was performed for 30 tenants' groups and it was a very effective form of pamphleteering.

There is no doubt that theater can do that. But I don't do that so much now. I myself am now more concerned with doing what happened with *Destiny*. It had been done at Stratford on Avon's Other Place and was brought into London just when people were becoming aware of the National Front, the anti-immigration racist party which was beginning to gain support. People who didn't live in areas where the Front was gaining support were confused and mystified by the Front. *Destiny* happened to address itself to their questions, and happened to de-

Continued on page 23